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ABSTRACT

Endorsing the principle that there is no one model American, the 10 essays in this monograph demonstrate cultural pluralism and illustrate the need for multicultural education in American schools. A general statement, adopted by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, emphasizes that multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children through programs rooted to the preservation and extension of cultural alternatives. The following authors and articles examine cultural, ethnic, religious, racial, regional, and sexual differences in America and present suggestions for incorporating multicultural education in the schools: "The Case of Afro-Americans" by Herbert Douglas; "The Case of Appalachians" by Julia Damron Porter; "The Case of Evangelicals" by Harold W. Berk; "The Case of Jews, Italians, Irish and Chinese" by Martin L. Berman and Albert W. Vogel; "The Case of Mexican Americans" by John A. Garcia; "The Case of Rom" by Albert W. Vogel and Martin L. Berman; "The Case of Women" by Ann S. Nihlen; "Toward Multicultural Education: Some Caveats" by Thomas R. Lopez, Jr.; "Toward a New Unity" by John T. Zepper; and "Accreditation and Multicultural Education: The Standards and Their Implications" by Robert T. Utz. (JD)

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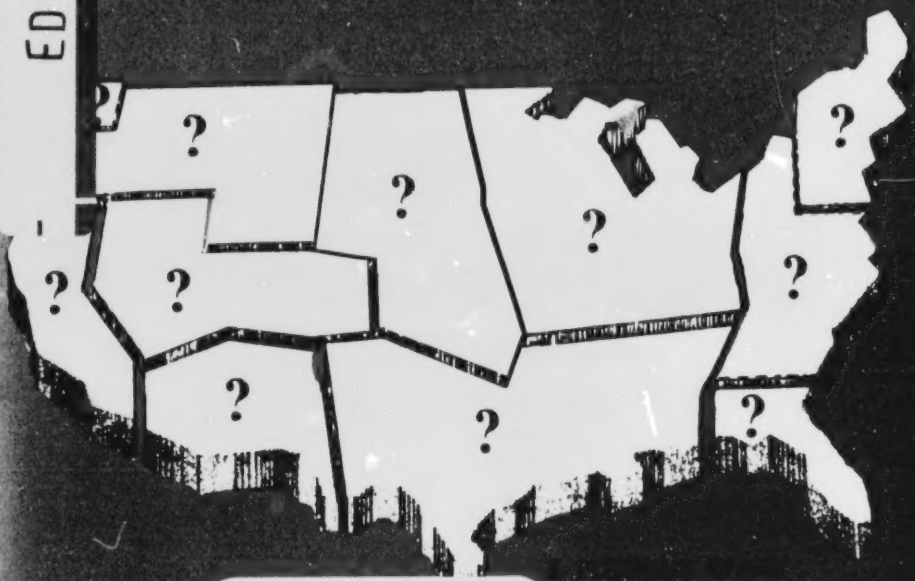

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COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
1979/EDUCATIONAL COMMENT

"No One Model American"

THOMAS R. LOPEZ, JR.
Editor

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INTRODUCTION

Educational Comment is an annual monograph published by the College of Education of The University of Toledo. Each year a member of the faculty is selected by a faculty committee to edit an issue around a particular topic. This year, the theme is "Multicultural Education."

Rather than writing **about** cultural pluralism in the abstract we decided to ask various people to write original essays on the subject, but from the vantage point of the group under consideration. In that way, we hoped **to demonstrate pluralism** as well as to illuminate the subject to some extent. The groups were selected because some could not be left out, some because they seem to be overlooked in the literature, and should not be, and some simply because they are interesting to us. There certainly are many other groups in this country that we need to learn more about.

The articles were written to stand alone, but they were written in terms of editorial guidelines so that comparisons can be drawn and differences noted. In that way, students may find the monograph useful in their studies of multicultural education.

Information about the contributing authors appears elsewhere in this publication. It should be noted that the views expressed are those of the authors and, of course, are not necessarily held by anyone else.

Finally, we wish to thank Mr. John Nicholas Taylor of the American Language Institute, The University of Toledo, for his skillful editorial assistance.

— Thomas R. Lopez, Jr., Editor
— Albert W. Vogel, Associate Editor

NO ONE MODEL AMERICAN

A STATEMENT ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The Muticultural Statement No One Model American, a product of the Commission on Multicultural Education, was adopted officially in November 1972 by the AACTE Board of Directors as a guide for addressing the issue of multicultural education.

Multicultural education is education which values cultural pluralism. Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences or the view that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead, multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children and youth through programs rooted to the preservation and extension of cultural alternatives. Multicultural education recognizes cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society, and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. It affirms that major education institutions should strive to preserve and enhance cultural pluralism.

To endorse cultural pluralism is to endorse the principle that there is no one model American. To endorse cultural pluralism is to understand and appreciate the differences that exist among the nation's citizens. It is to see these differences as a positive force in the continuing development of a society which professes a wholesome respect for the intrinsic worth of every individual. Cultural pluralism is more than a temporary accommodation to placate racial and ethnic minorities. It is a concept that aims toward a heightened sense of being and of wholeness of the entire society based on the unique strengths of each of its parts.

Cultural pluralism rejects both assimilation and separation as ultimate goals. The positive elements of a culturally pluralistic society will be realized only if there is a healthy interaction among the diverse groups which comprise the nation's citizenry. Such interaction enables all to share in the richness of America's multicultural heritage. Such interaction provides a means for coping with intercultural tensions that are natural and cannot be avoided in a growing, dynamic society. To accept cultural pluralism is to recognize that no group lives in a vacuum — that each group exists as part of an interrelated whole.

If cultural pluralism is so basic a quality of our culture, it must become an integral part of the educational process at every level. Education for cultural pluralism includes four major thrusts: (1) the teaching of values which support cultural diversity and individual uniqueness; (2) the encouragement of the qualitative expansion of existing ethnic cultures and their incorporation into the mainstream of American socioeconomic and political life; (3) the support of explorations in alternative and emerging life styles; and (4) the encouragement of multiculturalism, multilingualism, and multidialectism. While schools must insure that all students are assisted in developing their skills to function effectively in society, such a commitment should not imply or permit the denigration of cultural differences.

Educational institutions play a major role in shaping the attitudes and beliefs of the nation's youth. These institutions bear the heavy task of preparing each generation to assume the rights and responsibilities of adult life. In helping the transition to a society that values cultural pluralism, educational institutions must provide leadership for the development of individual commitment to a social system where individual worth and dignity are fundamental tenets. This provision means

that schools and colleges must assure that their total educational process and educational content reflect a commitment to cultural pluralism. In addition, special emphasis programs must be provided where all students are helped to understand that being different connotes neither superiority nor inferiority; programs where students of various social and ethnic backgrounds may learn freely from one another; programs that help different minority students understand who they are, where they are going, and how they can make their contribution to the society in which they live.

Colleges and universities engaged in the preparation of teachers have a central role in the positive development of our culturally pluralistic society. If cultural pluralism is to become an integral part of the educational process, teachers and personnel must be prepared in an environment where the commitment to multicultural education is evident. Evidence of this commitment includes such factors as a faculty and staff of multiethnic and multiracial character, a student body that is representative of the culturally diverse nature of the community being served, and a culturally pluralistic curriculum that accurately represents the diverse multicultural nature of American society.

Multicultural education programs for teachers are more than special courses or special learning experiences grafted onto the standard program. The commitment to cultural pluralism must permeate all areas of the educational experience provided for prospective teachers.

Multicultural education reaches beyond awareness and understanding of cultural differences. More important than the acceptance and support of these differences is the recognition of the right of these different cultures to exist. The goal of cultural pluralism can be achieved only if there is full recognition of cultural differences and an effective educational program that makes cultural equality real and meaningful. The attainment of this goal will bring a richness and quality of life that would be a long step toward realizing the democratic ideas so nobly proclaimed by the founding fathers of this nation.

THE AUTHORS

Harold W. Berk is Vice President for Academic Affairs at Detroit Bible College. He received the doctorate from The University of Toledo.

Dr. Berk is a professionally qualified airplane pilot; he owns a Twin-Comanche, maintains instrument currency, and does all the maintenance of his aircraft. He began flying in 1943, an interest which continued through high school and college at Taylor University. After college, he decided to enter mission service with the Mission Aviation Fellowship. He qualified himself as an aviation mechanic at Moody Bible Institute. He then went to Brazil in 1955 with the Mission Aviation Fellowship. Activities there included starting the Anapolis Overhaul Center, initiating a jungle life-line air program in the southern Amazon jungle region, and coordinating the five bases of the Mission Aviation Fellowship as Director from 1966-1968. He is married to the former A. Elsie Mundinger. They have four daughters, all born in Brazil: Daunda, Dianne, Cynthia, and Elsine.

* * * * *

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* * * * *

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He received the doctorate from The University of Toledo.

John A. Garcia is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Arizona. His primary areas of interests lie in the urban policy area (i.e., education, housing, health) and minority politics (Chicanos, political participation and movements). Dr. Garcia has written a number of articles in such areas in **Atisbos, Urban Affairs, Quarterly, Ethnicity,** and other journals and readers. In addition, his experience on local policy committees has helped in developing insights on critical issues and perspectives for the Chicano community. He received the doctorate from Florida State University.

* * * * *

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* * * * *

Ann S. Nihlen is the Coordinator of the Women Studies Program at The University of New Mexico. She received the doctorate in Educational Foundations at UNM in the fields of Anthropology/Education and Women Studies. Dr. Nihlen is involved in research on the history of women in education.

* * * * *

Julia Damron Porter, a native of Pike County, Kentucky, was a school teacher in eastern Kentucky, and Director of the Folk Arts Project, Alice Lloyd College, Pippa Passes, Kentucky, and is presently a candidate for the doctorate in the Department of Social and Philosophical Studies, College of Education, University of Kentucky. Degrees held include the Bachelor of Arts (Pikeville College), Master of Music, and Master of Science in Education (University of Kentucky).

Among previous works are four documentaries on Appalachian history and culture.

* * * * *

Robert T. Utz is currently Professor of Educational Foundations at The University of Toledo. He received the Ph.D. in Educational Sociology at Washington University in St. Louis. His past writing and research have focused predominantly in the areas of competency based education, assessment and evaluation, educational change processes, needs assessment, administrator leadership styles, and home-school relationships.

* * * * *

Albert W. Vogel is Professor of Educational Foundations at The University of New Mexico. His academic specialty is the history and philosophy of American education. From a generalized interest in multicultural problems in America Dr. Vogel moved to a more specialized concern for Rom (Gypsies). He spent a sabbatical year studying Rom in the U.S., Canada, and Great Britain. He received the doctorate from The American University.

* * * * *

John T. Zepper is Professor of Educational Foundations at The University of New Mexico. He has also taught at the Universities of Missouri, Oklahoma State, Toledo, Eastern Illinois, Indiana, and Nottingham (G.B.). Trained as a Russian translator at the Army Language School, Dr. Zepper has published numerous articles related to Soviet education. His publications have also dealt with Pragmatism in education and education in New Mexico. He received the doctorate from The University of Missouri.

THE CASE OF AFRO-AMERICANS*

by Herbert Douglas

Introduction

The demand for educational opportunity has been an important thrust within the domain of the Afro-American's quest for survival and liberation in United States society. Any effort which attempts a comprehensive review of Black protest activity in the United States, be it the deliberations of the nineteenth century Negro Convention Movements or the ten point program promulgated by the Black Panther Party in the 1960's, will reveal the salience of education as a vehicle for promoting the general welfare of the Black masses in the United States.

An examination of some basic educational concerns of Black Americans will be presented in the following pages from both an historical and contemporary points of view. Specific demands which Blacks have made upon the public schools of the nation will be discussed and analyzed.

In addition to these matters, pertinent demographic and socio-economic data which provide us with a basic understanding of the political economy of contemporary Black America will be discussed and analyzed. The treatment of these data will include a demonstration of their significance for Black education in the United States.

Throughout the period which encompasses their presence within this nation, Black Americans have persisted in their efforts to gain the opportunity for quality education for Black youth. Out of this quest have come specific demands for educational reform. An examination of the specific demands that Blacks have made upon the public schools and ways by which the schools can respond positively to these demands will be presented here.

During various stages of the Black struggle for access to quality educational programs for Black youth, Black people have wrestled with the question: What is a meaningful and relevant educational program for Black youth? This issue has generated much controversy and

*Editor's Note: The original title of this article was "Black Education and the Political Economy of Black America: A Critical Assessment."

debate within the Black community. An outstanding example of this debate is the Washington — Dubois controversy of which more will be stated later. One result of the continued discussion of the question posed here has been the effort to develop a Black educational agenda and a delivery system through which such a program might be implemented. In the following pages there will be presented some of the important ideas and proposals which have been derived from the consideration of these matters. Finally, this review will be utilized to deal with the question of viable alternatives which are available to facilitate Black education in present-day America.

The elaboration of the issues, concerns, and proposals which are examined in this paper is informed by the following assumptions concerning Black education:

1. Black education must have as its basic thrust the effort to extricate the Black community from the dual dynamics of oppression, i.e., exploitation and subjugation, which derive from the workings of a racist society in which there is retained an unresolved class contradiction.

2. In view of the fact that education does not exist within a socio-cultural and politico-economic vacuum, Black education, if it is to contribute to Black survival and liberation, must place its major focus upon those substantive issues concerning the political economy of Black America.

The Search For Educational Opportunity

A central thrust of the struggle of Afro-Americans to achieve social justice and equality within American society is the question of access. Throughout the history of the Black experience within the United States, the demands for access to quality educational programs and the institutions allegedly designed to provide the public with such opportunities have been a recurrent theme. Blacks have consistently sought to overcome the barriers that have kept them out of the school house, be they reflected in Governor George Wallace standing in the door to keep Black students from pursuing their educational development at a public, tax-supported university, or in the more recent thrust to overcome a national policy of fiscal retrenchment which threatens to reduce the public schools, especially those of the ghetto cores of American cities, to essentially holding pens where little in the way of educational innovation or advancement can occur. It is a truism

to suggest that the Black demand for equal educational opportunity, much of it recently manifested in the language of school desegregation, has been a recurrent one within the Black movement for social justice in the United States.

It is surprising to some people that this question of access is still a basic issue when one reflects on such core values of United States culture as a professed commitment to democracy, egalitarianism, and fair play. However the facts of the matter indicate that the struggle has not yet been won.

During the Slave Era the issue of educational opportunity for the so-called free Blacks as well as the bondsmen was critical due to the fact that the former experienced significant discrimination in their efforts to acquire a decent education, and the latter existed within a system which denied them the right to education as a matter of law.[1] From the time of abolition until the end of the nineteenth century, Black organizations and individuals pressed their demands for educational opportunity.[2] This agitation was based on the perception that without education, Blacks could expect to achieve little in their efforts to survive and progress within the nation. Any critical examination of the historical record serves to document this protest activity which sought the redress of the educational grievances presented by Blacks.

Frederick Douglass was the outstanding Black leader in the cause of abolition and the achievement of human and civil rights in the nineteenth century. Douglass' remarks on the question of educational opportunity could be viewed as a capstone of the Black demands of the period. Addressing the National Convention of Colored Men in Louisville, Kentucky in 1883, Douglass stated:

> On the subject of equal education and educational facilities, mentioned in the call for this convention, we expect little resistance from any quarter. It is everywhere an accepted truth, that in a country governed by the people, like ours, education of the youth of all classes is vital to its welfare, prosperity, and to its existence.
>
> In the light of this unquestioned proposition, the patriot cannot but view with a shudder the wide-spread and truly alarming illiteracy as revealed by the census of 1880.
>
> The question as to how this evil is to be remedied is an important one. Certain it is that it will not do to trust to the philanthropy of wealthy individuals or benevolent societies to remove it. The States in which this illiteracy prevails either cannot or will

not provide adequate systems of education for their own youth. But however this may be, the fact remains that the whole country is directly interested in the education of every child that lives within its borders. The ignorance of any part of the American people so deeply concerns all the rest that there can be no doubt of the right to pass laws compelling the attendance of every child at school. Believing that such is now required and ought to be enacted, we hereby put ourselves on record in favor of stringent laws to this end.

In the presence of this appalling picture presented by the last census, we hold it to be the imperative duty of Congress to take hold of this important subject, and without waiting for the states to adopt liberal school systems within their respective jurisdictions, to enter vigorously upon the work of universal education.

The National Government, with its immense resources, can carry the benefits of a sound common-school education to the door of every poor man from Maine to Texas, and to withhold this boon is to neglect the greatest assurance it has of its own perpetuity. As a part of the American people we unite most emphatically with others who have already spoken on this subject, in urging Congress to lay the foundation or a great national system of aid to education at its next session. . . .[3]

A dimension of the question of the Black American's access to quality educational programs has been the struggle to overcome the segregation of the nation's schools. Demands by Blacks calling for desegregation of the public schools are historical.[4] More recently, within the twentieth century, the insistence upon school integration has dominated the agenda of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other Black civil rights organizations.[5] This struggle continues, for Blacks, then as now, realize that segregated schooling means imposed isolation from "the mainstream." As such, this often subjects Blacks to inferior and inadequate financing, substandard facilities, and second-rate academic programs, thus shackling the youth of the race in its effort to realize the fullness of its potential.

Demographic, Socio-Economic, And Educational Data

An assessment of the challenges faced by Black education would

be incomplete without the consideration of some pertinent demographic, socio-economic, and educational information. In view of the basic assumptions which inform this assessment of Black education, the inclusion of such data is essential for Black America. The data indicate that Blacks continue to suffer serious socio-economic debilitation within the United States. It was an assumption of this review that Black education must facilitate the efforts of the race to overcome these destructive conditions.

The total Black population of the United States was slightly over twenty-four million in 1974 and represented approximately twelve per cent of the total population of the nation. Blacks continue to be concentrated within the core cities of America's metropolitan regions.[6]

Poverty among Black Americans is still a pervasive problem of major proportions. Documentary evidence reveals the fact that despite all that is written about the emerging Black middle class, the proportion of low-income Black families has been increasing.[7] Among the Black poor are an astonishing number of children. "Forty-two percent of all Black children aged 18 or younger live in family units whose income is below the poverty line."[8]

The poverty status of Black families is directly related to the race's participation in the labor force. Throughout the 1970's Blacks have suffered from unemployment rates which are twice those of their white counterparts.[9] When one considers "the 'hidden unemployed,' (i.e., discouraged workers, etc.) . . . actual black unemployment went over three million in 1977, while their unofficial jobless rate reached 25 percent."[10] Unemployment among Black teenagers is of astronomical proportions. Evidence is available which indicates that "the jobless rate for black teenagers rose from 37 percent — in both 1975 and 1976 — to almost 40 percent in 1977. And when the 'hidden unemployed' are included, the unofficial jobless rate for black teenagers jumped to about 50 percent in 1977."[11]

The problem encountered by Blacks in gaining access to adequate employment within the United States economy is also reflected in a widening of the income gap between Blacks and whites in both relative and absolute terms. Blacks suffered a deficit in annual income of $6,295 in 1976 compared to their white counterparts. From 1970 to 1977 Black median family income as a per centage of whites' fell from 61 per cent to 59 per cent.[12]

It is in the economic arena that human beings acquire the suste-

nance necessary for survival. In view of this fact, and the companion concept that economic liberation is central to the struggle of Black people to survive and make progress in America, a major thrust must be made in this arena. If Black education is to make a contribution to that effort, it must be informed about the essential details of the economic subordination of Black people in the United States.

Poverty must also be viewed as a problem which impacts directly upon the functioning of students and the schools. There is a substantial body of literature which details the deficits experienced by poor children in the public schools which limit their opportunities to attain the education necessary to compete adequately in society.[13]

While some progress has been made in this sphere, data which measure Black enrollment in the schools and colleges of the nation show that there are continuing problems. It is a fact that Black enrollment in nursery, kindergarten, junior high, and high schools has increased over the past decade.[14] Not only are more Black teenagers enrolled in high schools, but with higher retention rates being achieved these students are acquiring increased educational attainment as measured by number of years of schooling completed.[15] There has also been a decline in the dropout rates for Blacks, both in absolute terms and in comparison with the rates for white students.[16] Black youth who enter high school, however, do experience problems in completing that level of schooling. "At ages 18 and 19, 22 percent of black youth are still attending high school compared to eight percent of white youth. Another 25 percent of black youth in this age group do not complete high school compared to only 15 percent of white youth."[17] Additionally, the question of the quality of the education which is available to Black students is a very serious concern.

There is also evidence which indicates that "while the number and percentage of black Americans attending the colleges of the nation has increased, the gap between white and black college attendance is much wider than that for elementary and secondary schools."[18] Recent data also show that Blacks are still suffering from problems in gaining access to the medical schools of the nation — a serious problem when one considers that only about two per cent of this nation's physicians are Blacks.[19]

Community Control And The Search For Alternatives

The landmark decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case, Brown versus The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954)

was a legal decision of significant potential for ushering in a new era of racial justice in the nation. The Court ruled that segregated schools were "inherently unequal" and indicated that these schools must be desegregated "with all deliberate speed." The leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People viewed the decision as a basis for a new period of Black progress in the United States. However, assessments of the conditions of Black life in the nation have tended to render a less sanguine assessment of the substantive impact that the Brown decision has had in the arena of educational progress.

In the wake of what the N.A.A.C.P. regarded as a culminating effort of a protracted struggle to achieve equal educational opportunities for the race, Black organizations, intellectuals, and activists have become increasingly disenchanted with the focus, content, and quality of Black education. Serious and fundamental questions have been raised, and the call for new directions has been voiced within the Black communities. The value system which is promoted by the educational institutions of the dominant culture has come under increasing scrutiny by Blacks, and this assessment has often led to the conclusion that such values as individualism and competition are important elements of the oppressive constructs which Blacks must confront and struggle to overcome. In discussing the meaning of school integration as this relates to the development of personal values, Acklyn Lynch emphasizes the point that "integration as defined by white America meant the acceptance of the dominant ethic along with acquiescence to the authority and power of the existing social and political institutions."[20] This evaluation of school integration has given impetus to further questions of the value of proposed educational reforms and the search for viable alternatives for the education of Black youth.

Another issue which concerns those interested and involved in the education of Black people is that of influence and control of the schools. A part of the 1960's civil rights struggles was the demand for community control of the schools. This demand has ensued from the perception that, at least where Black interests are concerned, mainstream American education was deficient, corrupt, and disintegrating. Public school systems have also been major bastions of white racism. Grace Lee Boggs argues that Blacks must achieve community control of the schools in order to develop and implement an educational program to overcome an "individualist, opportunist orientation of American education [which] has been ruinous to the American community, [and] most obviously, . . . to the Black community."[21] M. Lee Montgomery has observed that the demand for community control of the

schools by Black parents means "not only physical control, but . . . the control of information and learning for the liberation of the human spirit."[22] This conflict seeks to determine who will control the minds of Black children.

Blacks are also painfully aware of the fact that the education provided for the race did not deal with the reality of the deficit experienced by Blacks in efforts to fully participate as equals in the decision-making process which shapes the destiny of their communities. William McClendon embraces this critical evaluation of the education available to Blacks within the dominant society and suggests that Black education must support the Black struggle to become a "self determining" people in the United States and the world at large.[23]

There also has been a concern about the difficulties experienced by Black youth in their efforts to achieve a positive identity and sense of personal worth within this racist society. Also, Black people have not been persuaded that the education being offered to them is relevant or functional with respect to their desire to work for and within the Black community in an effort to improve the emotional, physical, and economic well-being of the group.

The efforts of Black people to grapple with the substance and the implications of such concerns as the value of school integration, the demand for community control of the schools, and the relevance of existing educational programs for facilitating the survival and progress of the race has led to intense debate within the Black community. The airing of these issues has revealed a considerable degree of Black disenchantment with these programs. Olivia Pearl Stokes, a voice for moderation within the Black community, has cautioned Blacks not to despair. She expressed faith in the notion that the public schools of the nation can be reformed to facilitate the attainment of "personal dignity and quality education for their children; homes for their families and jobs for their sustenance [and] . . . development."[24] Further, Ms. Stokes offers this expanded participation of Black citizens as "a fascinating, dynamic, creative, hopeful development in democracy," and, therefore, "an instrument of value in the American stream of democratic development."[25] There are, however, dissenting voices concerning the utility of this "mainstreaming" approach.

Many Black thinkers are not sanguine about the notion that reforming the existing educational system is the answer to providing a meaningful education for Black youth. Such observers base their

viewpoint on the essential judgment that Blacks have been victimized by an education system which is increasingly failing to meet the needs of Blacks. Grace Lee Boggs has analyzed such post-World War II educational reforms as school integration, community control of the schools, the inclusion of Black history in the curriculum of the public schools, the hiring of a few more Black teachers and Black administrators, decentralization, and the like, and found all of these developments wanting with respect to providing adequate opportunities for Black youth to survive and progress.[26] Such critiques of the education programs which Blacks are receiving have given impetus to Blacks' desires and efforts to seek alternatives.

It is errant to suggest that the search for viable educational alternatives by United States Blacks is of recent vintage. The Washington - DuBois controversy of the nineteenth century is an historical example of a conflict arising from such a quest. Booker T. Washington's response to the issue of what type of education was best suited to facilitate the progress of the race placed great emphasis upon manual training. It was his view that in order for Blacks to progress in America, they had to demonstrate both the willingness and the capacity to assume a useful role at the bottom of the social structure. To W. E. B. DuBois, on the other hand, liberal arts education was the **sine qua non** for Black youth to achieve gainful employment and upward mobility within society. DuBois' criticism of Washington's educational philosophy and program was based on his analysis that it would stifle the development of Black people by not providing the maximum intellectual development of that "talented tenth" of the race from which one would expect the leadership elements to arise. Also, DuBois felt very strongly that Washington's educational program would have the impact of maintaining the Black people as a permanent underclass within the United States.

More recently a number of ideas and programmatic proposals have been developed by Blacks in response to the search for alternative educational directions. A review of the literature concerning such proposals reveals a commitment to the principle that Black education must be accountable to the Black community and that it must provide the race with the knowledge, skills, theoretical orientation, world view, values, and social consciousness necessary to achieve the liberation of the race.[27] This is the challenge which confronts all educational institutions which claim to be committed to the task of providing educational opportunities for Black people.

In his seminal article, "Education for Black Humanism," Preston Wilcox proposes an alternative educational program for Black people

whose guiding principles emphasize the search for a positive Black identity and an alternative system of values for the race, the necessity to unite all people of African ancestry, resistance to oppression derived from racism and capitalist exploitation, and the continuing Black struggle for survival and liberation.[28]

Acklyn Lynch has put forth a proposal which, while in agreement with many of Wilcox's principles, placed emphasis upon the need for education of heuristic applicability, and which provides the scientific education which is functional with respect to solving concrete problems within the Black communities.[29] The Lynch proposal conforms with a set of educational guidelines put forward by Grace Lee Boggs in recommending that Black education, while containing a substantial theoretical orientation, must have a practical dimension which utilizes the total community as a learning laboratory and as a source of educational resources. Such an approach has great potential for facilitating the students' acquisition of such functional skills as developing a needs assessment and problem-solving.

Peoples College, a radical educational collective which was formed in 1970, has developed an educational program oriented toward the full and all-sided investigation of the principal enemies of the black liberation movement — imperialism and racism. The view of this collective is that Black education must develop course curricula, research projects, and publications in order to enhance the Black struggle against United States monopoly capitalism.[30]

It appears that Black educators and diverse thinkers are presently more involved in political and ideological considerations than in the past. William McClendon has analyzed this component of educational programs. He states that:

> . . . many blacks began to consider black education as having a special assignment to challenge and eventually replace white education because it was deficient and corrupt. Out of this grew the realization and acknowledgment for a large number of blacks that all education is unequivocally political and black education can ill afford to be less so.[31]

Many Blacks support Lynch's concept that Black education must be informed by

> a Pan-Africanist perspective, which defines all Black people as African people. In the diaspora we are people of African origin

and our legitimate concern must be our unification and liberation.[32]

A Pan-Africanist approach must not be viewed as simply an attempt to reestablish the cultural ties of the Black diaspora with Mother Africa. In addition to the cultural agenda, as manifested in what this writer refers to as the "Roots Syndrome," a Pan-Africanist perspective must include the establishment of political and economic linkage among the diverse elements of the Black world as a basis for the unity and strength which Blacks seek. It is not unrealistic to expect that, given the sophistication of the technological and scientific achievement found in the United States, American Blacks who have gained such expertise could be sent abroad to help African societies overcome the serious deficit which they suffer in these spheres. Such action would be consistent with a Pan-Africanist commitment. Also, the need for Black education to assume a posture which confronts the racist and imperialist tendencies within monopoly capitalism was presented above.

Discussion And Analysis

The examination of Black education which has been offered in the preceding pages leads the writer to suggest that what is needed at this stage of the Black struggle is a dual system of education. Under such a proposal a portion of the education of Black youth will be achieved through continued participation in the schools existing within the dominant society. A Black-controlled educational institution, the Black Academy, should be established within Black communities to supplement the educational programs provided for Black students within the public schools. Black people can no longer accept the dysfunction of the established educational institutions of this nation in meeting the educational needs of the race.

It should not be too difficult for Blacks to grasp the conclusion that, given the dearth of finance capital which is available to construct separate Black educational institutions to replace the existing public schools, Blacks will continue to depend upon those existing institutions as a significant educational resource. Nor do Black people possess the requisite political or economic power to substantially alter this situation, at least in the short term.[33] Thus, it is clear that Blacks must continue to struggle to change the present educational system in order to maximize the achievement of a Black educational agenda within these schools.

A number of scholars have examined the schools which serve the dominant society and have emphasized such themes as "the public schools as bastions of white racism," "testing for order and control," "the schools as sorting machines," and "education as cultural imperialism."[34] These are important issues which Blacks can not afford to neglect in their efforts to change the schools of the nation, as they are critical not only for understanding who wins and who loses in the competition for the limited, socially-valued goods which the elite permits to flow to the masses, but also for the problem encountered by Blacks in obtaining the support of the schools in transmitting the cultural heritage of the Black experience to Black youth. A "desegregated" school, one or two Afro-Asian or Afro-American Studies courses, a tiny enclave of Black teachers and administrators are inadequate to this task. And yet this has been the standard response to Black demands for educational change.

Reform of the public schools must be directed toward changing teachers' attitudes concerning the educability and the commitment to education of Black persons. Also the public schools of the nation must provide Black youth with the basic skills, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, which are necessary for Black survival and progress on this planet. Black students need an education which also emphasizes high technology and modern science.

Teachers and administrators within the existing schools must stop generalizing about Black students and subjecting them to such destructive labeling as "culturally deprived," "behavioral problems," and "slow learners" and get on with the task of determining how the schools can enhance the educational achievement of such students in order to improve their life chances.

Too many Black students within the public schools end up in classes for slow learners, the general track within the educational program, or so-called vocational courses. Such a situation leads directly to the self-fulfilling prophecy of under-achievement or outright failure. In such an educational atmosphere, Black youngsters are essentially pushed out of the school doors, a separation which the educational establishment conveniently labels as "drop out." These issues are mentioned merely to highlight the myriad of problems which inform Black demands that the schools must be changed to serve their needs. It would be naive to believe that Blacks will achieve all of the dimensions of change within the existing public schools which they deem necessary to secure survival and liberation.

Racism continues to be a major problem within the United States. The major reservoir of racial bigotry which remains in our society is documented by the recent works of Glock and McConahay and Hough and represent major indictments of our schools.[35] Is it the position of America's educators that they can do nothing to intervene in the racist orientation of white students? Many white students are racists simply because they receive little or nothing from the schools which conflicts with this tendency. It could be argued that the schools are contributing to racial conflict due to their inadequate contribution to positive race relations. In the United States today, there are many whites who are convinced that Blacks are getting all the advantages and at the expense of whites. Such a fallacious notion is often based upon miseducation and a lack of pertinent information. Given the fact that in this period of economic difficulty in the United States, there is a basic conflict between the middle class home owner who is demanding tax relief and the poor who continue to demand expanded social welfare programs (or, at the very least, maintenance of such programs at current levels), the prospect for racial conflict has become heightened. It is not a responsible posture for the schools of our nation to be contributors to this conflict.

Black students need to be informed about the nature and content of the American experience as it relates to contemporary domestic problems, the role of this nation in the international community, and the demand for social change. Thus it is important that Black students be informed about the nature of the caste and class dimensions of United States society, as well as the imperialistic thrust of United States monopoly capitalism. It is in such curricular packaging and basic social education that were mentioned above that existing schools need to be reformed in order to better serve Black interests. There are limitations, however, as to how much of a Black educational agenda can be achieved through the reform of existing schools.

Harry Kelly offered an analysis of a basic function of American educational institutions in 1925 which still obtains today. He stated:

> . . . the public school system is a powerful instrument for the perpetuation of the present social order. . . . The child . . . is trained to submit to authority to do the will of others as a matter of course, with the result that habits of mind are formed which in adult life are all to the advantage of the ruling class.[36]

Any attempt at educational change must take Kelly's observation as

given, for it gives efforts to bring about educational change, definition, and direction.

When one considers Kelly's assessment of public education in conjunction with the systemic analysis which posits that the Black liberation struggle is a struggle against the destructive dynamics of monopoly capitalism as manifested in racism and imperialism, the need for the Black Academy as a supplemental educational institution becomes clear. The power of the ruling class is derived from their ownership of the capitalist monopolies. The influence of the capitalist elite in the schools is powerful and pervasive. Schools are big business in the United States. Given these realities, it is naive to expect that these schools can be reformed in such fashion that they adequately serve the needs of Blacks.

The collective efforts of Black thinkers and organizations have already developed certain ideas and proposals that could be used as a starting point for the critical dialogue and discussion necessary to develop the best educational programs possible for the Black Academy. Proposals such as this provide the basis for the discussions necessary for the Black community to develop the educational program deemed necessary to meet its needs. It is important to emphasize that such programs should be derived from the collective thinking of the Black community and not from some limited elite group. In view of this notion, Blacks are challenged to develop a mechanism which facilitates the opportunity for input into the process by the broadest spectrum of Black community residents, parents, workers, students, intellectuals, and educators.

The Black intellectuals and scholars who teach in the Black academies must ensure that Black students acquire the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as the scientific and technological knowledge, organization skills, and the like which are necessary for them to be functional and competitive in this world. Black students have to be encouraged to acquire the skills necessary to function within and improve the quality of life within the Black community; but it also seems that Black youth are going to be forced by the realities of American life to compete for jobs within the dominant economy and must be prepared to meet that challenge. The Black masses will expect these educators to enrich and supplement the education Black students receive in the existing schools so that they acquire "knowledge that will provide a basis for the correct theory and the correct strategy and tactics that will insure the success of the Black liberation movement."[37] The Black masses fully expect such performance on the

part of Black educators and hold them accountable for any shirking of their responsibilities.

Blacks cannot afford to be timid with respect to the kinds of questions given consideration within the Black Academy. There is a need for critical examination of issues such as: What is the meaning of Black Nationalism in the American context and the prospects for its full implementation here? Also, there is a distinction on the part of some Black thinkers to engage the issue of the internal class question that is reflected in the emergence of the Black bourgeoisie and its relationship to the Black masses as well as to the white capitalist elite. In view of the fact that most Black people are of the working class, Black oppression is necessarily a function of both racism and the class contradiction. Black education must engage the discussion of such issues in order to elucidate the nature and content of Black oppression as a basis for developing the proper focus for the Black liberation struggle.

Another area which should be given major emphasis within Black education is the necessity to develop the ability of Black youth to think critically and analytically. If more Black people had such skills, perhaps many of them would not have been seduced by charlatans and rhetoricians posing as liberators. The recent transformation of Eldridge Cleaver, former Black Panther, is a case in point. Such a development is basic to the efforts of Black people to become autonomous decision makers.

Summary And Conclusion

An examination of some of the critical educational issues and concerns of Blacks in the United States has been presented in the preceding pages. Attention has been given to the assessment of the educational opportunities available to Black students within the public schools. Additionally, Black efforts to seek alternatives in order to overcome the deficits identified in such institutions has been offered.

In the wake of the American Bicentennial, Blacks have again evaluated their status within the society and have found that despite all of the efforts of the post-World War II period, they are still an oppressed people who continue to confront tremendous difficulties and often hostility in their efforts to survive and progress toward the goal of Black liberation. In view of this sorry state of affairs, Blacks have realized that they cannot be complacent about the content and quality

of the education that their youth are receiving if there is to be any reasonable prospect for progress in achieving the goals which the Black community has set forth.

Blacks realize that their youth represent the future of the race; and there is clear recognition of the fact that a more progressive future will not be realized unless these young people are afforded an education which enables them to acquire the knowledge, insights, social consciousness, and skills necessary to overcome the debilitating conditions reflected in the mass poverty, underdevelopment, and other facets of oppression which shackle the race. There is a broad consensus among Black observers that the educational programs which are available to them are inadequate. Thus, there is a demand for educational change. Proposals for change range from those which call for reforming the existing system of education within the dominant society to ones which call for separate educational institutions whose programs are developed and implemented by Blacks for Blacks.

The Black people of the United States have necessarily recognized that education is a vital component of the Black liberation struggle. Though it is understood that the schools cannot solve all of society's ills, there is a clear recognition of the fact that education can provide the knowledge, skills, and social consciousness necessary for Blacks to engage the continuing struggle for survival and liberation in these United States. Such is the challenge of Black education today. The struggle continues!

FOOTNOTES

1. Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Anti-Slavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961), pp. 211-217 and Herbert Aptheker (ed.), *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1968), p. 28.
2. Aptheker, pp. 19-20, 72-73.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 663-664.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.
5. Henry Allen Bullock, *A History of Negro Education In the South* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972, pp. 225-265.
6. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1974* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 1.
7. National Urban League, *The State of Black America 1978* (New York: National Urban League, 1978), p. 27.
8. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *Do They Know?* (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1978), p. 1.
9. *The State of Black America 1978, op. cit.*, p. 22.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 21
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

13. For example see Jonathan Kozol, *Death at an Early Age* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1967).
14. *The State of Black America 1978, op. cit.*, p. 41.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 1
16. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. Lynora Williams, "Education: Medical School Figures Down," *The Guardian*, December 20, 1978, p. 10.
20. Acklyn Lynch, "Resource Papers: Education," *African Congress*, ed. *Imamu Amiri Baraka*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1972), p. 287.
21. Grace Lee Boggs, "Education: The Great Obsession," *Education to Govern*, (Detroit: The All African Peoples Union, 1972), p. 22.
22. M. Lee Montgomery, "The Education of Black Children," *What Black Educators Are Saying*, ed. Nathan Wright, Jr., (San Francisco: Leswing Press, 1970).
23. William McClendon, "Black Studies: Education for Liberation," *The Black Scholar*, VI (September, 1974), p. 17.
24. Olivia Pearl Stokes, "The New Black Dimension in Our Society," *What Black Educators Are Saying, op. cit.*, p. 22.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Grace Lee Boggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-20.
27. For example see Nathan Wright, Jr., (ed.), *What Black Educators Are Saying, op. cit.;* and *The Black Scholar*, VI (September, 1974).
28. Preston Wilcox, "Education For Black Humanism: A Way of Approaching It," *What Black Educators Are Saying, op. cit.*, pp. 10-15.
29. Acklyn Lynch, *op cit.*, pp. 290-296.
30. "A Study Program: Imperialism and Black Liberation," *The Black Scholar*, VI (September, 1974), p. 38.
31. William McClendon, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
32. Acklyn Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
33. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1974, op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.
34. See Kenneth B. Clark (ed.), *Racism and American Education* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), Clarence J. Karier, "Testing For Order and Control in the Corporate Liberal State," *Educational Theory*, Vol. XXII (Spring, 1972), pp. 154-179; Joel Spring, *The Sorting Machine* (New York: David McKay Co., 1976), and Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay, Co., 1974).
35. Charles Y. Glock *et al. Adolescent Prejudice* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975); and John B. McConahay and Joseph C. Hough, Jr., *Value Roots of Symbolic Racism* (Durham, North Carolina: Center for Policy Analysis, 1975).
36. Harry Kelly, *The Modern School in Retrospect* (cited in Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* New York: David McKay, Co., 1974), n.p.
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28

THE CASE OF APPALACHIANS*

by Julia Damron Porter

The Appalachian mountains stretch southward from New York to northern Georgia with over ten million people living in the Southern Highlands[1] — largely Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, West Virginia, and Virginia, with Appalachia itself being considered by the Appalachian Regional Commission as parts of thirteen states.

The earliest settlers in this mountainous area, from the 1770's on, were primarily English, Scotch-Irish, and German, who made their livelihoods from essential farming and hunting. The family and home constituted an institution of vital significance, both socially and economically. The family formed a cohesive work unit, and the extended family afforded a network of mutual reliance. In this mountainous terrain-wilderness, survival depended on industry and such mutual assistance.

Contemporary Appalachians are still predominantly white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, native-born, and English-speaking. Mainstream America, too, is generally conceded to be principally white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. Why then is there a need for consideration of a multi-educational concept approach incorporating the Appalachian perspective in the schools?

Appalachians would ostensibly seem to have no serious divergencies from mainstream America when viewed according to the above description. Indeed much assimilation of Appalachians into mainstream culture has occurred nationally for decades, largely through economically-instigated migration aided by supportive social mechanisms afforded by kin networks[2] and especially by possession of marketable educational and occupational skills.

There are reasons, however, why Appalachians are regarded differently, and, furthermore, as a national problem. Differences truly exist: In southern Appalachia occupational options and industry are somewhat limited outside of that which is centrally or peripherally associated with extraction of natural resources. There are inadequacies in health care and education, and educational attainment has been an arduous undertaking for many with limited personal resources.

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However, Appalachians' experiences as migrants in urban centers and a series of "discoveries" of Appalachia as narrated by non-Appalachian observers have assisted in publicizing and even developing certain dichotomies.

Appalachia has experienced cycles of national attention, most of it decidedly derogatory. First a literary, local color movement developed around the 1880's, then came the social reformers, followed by industrialists who "developed" the timber and coal. Much of the social reform-educational effort from the 1880's onward has been denominationally sponsored with an orientation toward the transformation of the Appalachian into that which could be more readily assimilated by America. Around two hundred such schools sprang up during this period.[3] More recently the War on Poverty during the decade of the sixties brought the new reformers, along with official recognition for Appalachia as a national "problem." Now with the nation's energy crisis, Appalachia is undergoing a fourth discovery: a coal rush.

A common thread running through the discoveries has been a stereotypical viewing of Appalachians and often exploitation by social technologically-oriented systems that saw being different as being undesirable.[4] The differences of Appalachians as perceived by the casual social observer have consisted of being Southern, with its associated regional and rural stereotypes, being poor, having different aesthetic and religious expression forms, and having differing value emphases.[5]

That very apparent similarity to mainstream America is more liability than asset; for often ensuing is the contention of deficiencies in Appalachians themselves to account for the failure to emulate, i.e. assimilate.[6] Differences between modernized values and those of the Appalachian subculture are antithetical. Pre-industrial Appalachia is characterized by individualism, familism, and puritanism, whereas in modern society interactions are monetarily linked and occur for particular reasons and are characterized by a non-personal orientation.[7]

There is a growing consensus that the uniqueness of the Appalachian identity is well deserving of preservation in the powerful wave of acculturative forces with which that identity is confronted. The challenge is to maintain that identity as Appalachians amidst the rapid social change and acculturation that threatens the relative homeostasis of Appalachia and the stability of Appalachians. American dominant society has exhorted Appalachians for decades now, both overtly and

covertly, toward one zero-sum goal: assimilate! To be Appalachian is unacceptable, an "imperfect version of American."[8]

The struggle, which is now well over half a century old, is against total modernization and concomitant processes of industrialization, bureaucratization, and urbanization which would tend toward the extermination of Appalachian values, so that a gentler way of life knowing continuity and respect would be no longer known. Confrontations occur daily in the Appalachian homeland, the mountains, and in the cities — Cincinnati, Dayton, Columbus, Chicago, and Detroit. In either locale, change is an integral constant in Appalachians' lives. The only citadel for mountain people is that ideological shelter afforded by their own institutions like the family, which has functioned as a haven throughout.[9]

The push is toward modernization, with "technical, economic, and ecological changes [that] ramify through the whole social and cultural fabric."[10] That contention and change are occurring within individuals, however, and to view the two concepts of tradition and modernity as strict polarities overlooks realities, as Gusfield has pointed out.[11]

Nevertheless cultural differences come to the fore in the experience of migration with a forced value confrontation. Industrialization, especially in the urban, technologically-oriented context, tends to separate occupation from other social structures. There are structural changes necessitated in the family with an emphasis on the conjugal and not the extended family. An occupation-associated class emphasis is likely to take precedence over other types of identification. There are associated rising expectations, but attainment of those aspirations may well be frustrated. Life may not show much continuity, instead becoming more atomized into unconnected episodes. Negative psychological consequences are very possible, too, from bad feedback and the "inconsistency of symbols" of which Klapp speaks.[12]

Such confrontations and inconsistencies are hardest on those with minimal occupational skills and educational attainment, especially if these are combined with poor health in the low status person who is accorded the least prestige. So, "in addition to problems stemming from the migration process itself, not to mention the usual problems of lower socio-economic status, the children of Appalachian migrants must cope with an added burden of inferior social status."[13]

Appalachians seek first reasonable economic security and opportunity for social and economic mobility; many see equal educational

opportunity as a legitimate avenue to that mobility and as having potential for self-actualization. And for some Appalachians, whose numbers are growing, a demand is the possession of Appalachian identity: to have that autonomy, dignity, and self-respect that has traditionally been a part of being Appalachian.

Given these considerations, within the institution of education a multi-cultural approach would seem to facilitate matters, with both dominant society and Appalachian subculture being stressed. (In the case of Appalachians, "multicultural" essentially means "bicultural.")

Multicultural education is theoretically based on the concept of cultural pluralism in which cultural and ethnic diversity is seen as a source of strength worth preserving and building on: the whole constituted of separate parts is stronger than an alloy. Pluralists regard as an implausability the assimilationist or "melting pot" theory of the blending together of all cultural and ethnic groups. Cultural pluralism means:

1) mutual appreciation and understanding of the various cultures in the society,
2) cooperation of the various groups in the civic and economic institutions of the society,
3) peaceful coexistence of diverse life styles, folkways, manners, language patterns, religious beliefs, and family structures, and
4) autonomy for each subcultural group to work out its own social future.[14]

Cultural pluralism, as a theory toward which the strategies of multicultural education aim, holds that diversity is important to society as a whole, that individual commitment reflected in social and political policy is essential, and that the school curriculum should positively reflect those aims.

Multicultural education further aims to:

> ". . . provide knowledge of others and their values and contributions, encourage empathy between groups, encourage positive self-identity, and build toward an environment for problem-solving." It should strengthen the home-school relationship, and increase student-teacher awareness and expectancy of success.[15]

Multicultural education assumes the significance of educational institu-

tions in socialization and that schools can be changed from agents of alienation to agents for amelioration of ills stemming from treatment of differences that they can be vehicles of cultural pluralism.[16] Such an approach stresses inclusion — not exclusion, fostering positive self-images for the culturally different. It stresses equal education and full participation which is feasible with sufficient power. It sees no inherent superiority or inferiority in ethnic-cultural membership and, beyond awareness, stresses rights of different cultural-ethnic groups to maintain their respective identities.

Multicultural education calls for curricular revision, bias-free texts, and teacher preparation more consistent with the goal of equal education opportunity for all children. Teacher education is seen as crucial to promotion of cultural pluralism in attitude-value clarification and in reducing levels of ethnic, racial, and class prejudice.[17]

There are certain realities and erroneous assumptions, however, which make pragmatic application of such educational concepts to the Appalachian situation ineffective — little more than well-meaning rhetoric from the dominant society.

Firstly, there is an assumption of approximate social, economic, and political parity among the different cultural groups. With what resources can Appalachia muster parity? Appalachia has few resources left.

Secondly, there is an assumption that each cultural group represents within itself a relatively homogenous front in terms of internal dynamics and physical mobility, rather static and unchanging. Appalachia was never so completely isolated as interpreters believed, and there is now flux on all fronts. Too, Appalachians have migrated singly and in streams from the 1880's onward.[18] Moreover, the assumption of uniform intensity in Appalachian identification would be in error; the degree is determined by individual choice and consciousness, among other relevant factors. Actual population composition differs, too, in significant ways — as will be seen later.

Thirdly, multicultural educational concepts as popularly translated contain a point of omission not only erroneous but confusing and perhaps damaging; the very concrete considerations of class and economics are ignored. There is poverty in Appalachia — miserable poverty. That was where reformers went awry: they were dealing with symptoms, not structural causes. Poverty is a chronic legacy of

particular modes of production and land ownership in Appalachia.[19] There cannot be external parity because there is so little internal parity.

It has been charged that to focus on ethnicity and cultural considerations instead of class promotes the stability of a functioning economic system and glosses over legitimate concerns which have bearing on a people's lives economically and politically.[20] There is inherent danger of effectively obscuring class considerations. Since both culture-ethnicity and class are crucial factors, simultaneous consideration of both is imperative. All these considerations are connected with the question of accuracy in assumption of unity and homogeneity among Appalachians.

First, there is ethnic homogeneity to be considered. The homogeneity imputed as characterizing Appalachians — akin to ascribing a national character as in the 1940's, is erroneous on several counts.[21]

The initial settling of the mountains was by those of British and Scotch-Irish ancestry — witness the prevalence even now of such surnames as Combs, Adams, and Stewart in eastern Kentucky. But with timbering and the opening up of the coal fields came an influx of additional workers primarily of southern European origin. Too, many Appalachians have Cherokee blood. Appalachian blacks have also played a definite role in the region's history, though that role has been little explored. In pockets there truly has existed the pure Anglo-Saxon from transplanted English civilization, kept much as it was at the time of departure from the British Isles: surnames, culture, ballads, and stories brought over intact across the water. But other ethnic groups had their own heritages, too.

Generations in geographic isolation of the Appalachian mountains then helped shape the **Weltanschauung** of the people. That apparent homogeneity found in the early "discovery" of the Appalachians had developed in the mountains. Sharing of Scotch-Irish institutions occurred precisely because they were so well suited for adaptability in such a mountainous terrain, but the people were diverse ethnically.[22] Sharing of language and evolution of functional institutions created one people: Appalachians. They were taken by local colorists like John Fox, Jr., and Mary Murfree for a homogenous people, landlocked by mountains, with peculiar ways of doing and living that seemed an anachronism: the lost white colony.

For purposes here, Appalachians are being considered one people; despite ethnic and other differences Appalachians are bound together historically and geographically with the land. The history of technological and institutional experience for the last three quarters of a century has sealed Appalachians' being one people.

Just as history created a people, it likewise has diversified them. One cannot legitimately speak of "the Appalachian" without consideration of stratification or hierarchical social position, defined by such indices as income and education. Contemporary Appalachia is a model or stratification: this is a second point of non-homogeneity, and most critical in current issues in Appalachia.

Among Appalachians there are three discernible groups, each demonstrating value-orientations perhaps more in common with other groups of similar standing outside Appalachia than with other Appalachians: A professional class, a large middle class -- to which most teachers belong -- and yet another group of lower status.[23]

Historically Appalachia was minimally stratified, with relative social and economic equality. There was an economic base of subsistence agriculture with the family constituting the unit of production and consumption, and roles being rather androgynous and interchangeable. But a pervasively influential factor after that time has been the introduction of technology with exploitation of land and of people for labor to develop those resources.

Coal pinpoints a major difference from other minority groups for Appalachians; in the heart of southern Appalachia exploitation has evolved around its presence, and mining has occasioned and accentuated stratification. Agents of dominant society acquired ownership, then trained an elite, if not to watch their economic interests, at least to serve as interstitial links to their own larger society.[24]

In addition to phenomena associated with these processes, the introduction of certain institutions — especially the school with formalized learning and academic legitimization has brought into the spotlight and occasioned value differentiation, forming a rudimentary system of stratification. Continued expansion and encounter with industrialization have intensified stratification, as have such changes as mechanization in the mines in the 1950's. Much of Appalachia's current internal upheaval is due to class-related value confrontation.

When Appalachians of higher status interact with dominant

society, biculturality or even assimilation is an option, though not necessarily free of psychological dilemmas concerning identification. Such persons are more cognizant of other perspectives, and social mobility is more available to them. Another consequence is that mobility attainment has demanded of professional and middle classes a cession of Appalachian identity — not a grave consideration to all Appalachians. Dominant society offers them supportive social mechanisms, compensation, and commonalities with others of their class.

But for those less favored by socio-economic circumstances there are fewer options and supportive mechanisms. Pride in tradition and reliance on the extended kinship system may well be all on which the low status individual can rely.

Appalachians outside the professional and middle classes are among the migrants to urban centers. Often the promise of economic and social betterment is loosely predicated on hope: one moves in with kin who function as cultural liaison agents for the immigrant-economic exile, helping him find employment and inducting him into perceived urban mores.[25]

For upper and middle status individuals this dual cognizance would theoretically allow extraction of the best from both worlds, a true biculturality with dual competence and functioning. But for the low status Appalachian little of the supportive is forthcoming from the dominant society, and the migrant is often stranded from the minority culture by distance and economics. Living in two worlds and at home in neither, he is a likely candidate for marginality as Stonequist described it.[26] If the effort in orientation to the urban environment is not effective, due to negative encounters with bureaucratic institutions, resocialization trauma, or being improperly occupationally or educationally equipped, among other factors, marginality can be effected psychologically, the indices of which are at best depression or hostility and at worst suicide. Low status Appalachians in urban enclaves, and in the mountains, are victims of prejudicial stereotyping and discrimination.

Minority inequities are associated with all societal institutions. The school, however, has extraordinary change potential for two reasons. Firstly, by sheer virtue of exposure the school constitutes a social learning laboratory for its population. Secondly, it exercises influence on the individual's life chances directly through its channeling power and psychologically through such mechanisms as reward

systems and perceived expectations. However, steps toward educational reform will bring at best educational and not necessarily societal reform. Furthermore, the essential conservative nature of the school should be considered in assessing possibilities for potential change. Perhaps strategies employed by the schools cannot make vastly appreciable differences in inequities, but any improvement is both minority and societal gain.

In 1970, the median school year completed in Kentucky, for example, was 9.9, versus 12.1 in the nation as a whole. The drop-rate, which is twenty to twenty-five per cent higher than the national rate, is over fifty per cent in some Appalachian districts.[27] Something is obviously out of kilter in the schools of Appalachia.

Views on Appalachian education illuminate different points, for example, that education functions as a cultural bridge for Appalachians to the larger society,[28] or that colonialism is both reflected and perpetuated in Appalachia through educational institutions.[29] The consensus is that the schools have primarily reflected dominant societal values.

> Jim Wayne Miller relates a story that illustrates this contention: . . . A longtime teacher at Berea College told me he visited a school in, I believe, Rockcastle County, Kentucky, in which an English teacher had devised an ingeniously insensitive method of eradicating dialectical usage in her small charges. She had simulated a cemetery on a table at the back of the room, with a fence and little tombstones made of cardboard. Whenever a student used a dialectical expression, such as 'hit' for 'it,' 'jine' for 'join,' or 'hyard' for 'heard,' this teacher had the student write the word on one of the cardboard tombstones and place it in the cemetery![30]

Historically in Appalachia the mission and settlement schools, followed by the public schools over approximately the last half century, have functioned as instruments of assimilation. While stressing monocultural education which employs only dominant society perspectives, the schools have also repressed indigenous Appalachian culture. Consequently much formal schooling in Appalachia has been an alienating experience. In both public schools and institutions of higher education, the curricula, teaching and administration, and reward systems have more shown external cultural values with institutional stress on conformity and authority; and "hostility to things Appalachian" is not an unknown phenomenon.[31]

There are discernible consequences of this denigration of folk culture. The first is a pervasive sense of inefficacy, and a corollary is a disproportionate share of assumed personal responsibility for less than optimal achievement[32] — all of which evolve from a less-than-positive self-concept. A second consequence is that education has been both promoted and perceived as a means of transcending circumstances, of getting out of Appalachia, where occupational choices have long been limited.

A primary focus at all levels of schooling should be the promotion of identity as Appalachians in a pluralistic setting with instructional dialogue that emphasizes historic, economic, social, and political realities and their continuity with present issues.

A second major focus should be learning the dominant culture as a second culture, rather than through monocultural instruction, addressing the challenge of coping with complexities of urban experience.

Education for competency in mainstream America has generally been better accomplished by Appalachian schools than has education for competency in Appalachia. This is especially true for institutions of higher education. The proportion of Appalachian teachers practicing their profession outside the mountains is ample testament to that relative success.

But both Appalachians and disadvantaged educational institutions can benefit from dialogue with both non-Appalachian and Appalachian communities. Informal education has significant potential contributions for the formal education process. Cognizance of both Appalachia and the larger society is crucial.

Procedurally and programmatically certain imperatives suggest themselves. 1) Schools can recognize differences in cognitive patterns and learning styles as being differences, not deficiencies. Immediate and all too permanent categorization and segregation by tracking and special classes can be eliminated, as can their basis in the culturally-biased standardized measurements which discern those "deficiencies." 2) Schools can take a realistic look at their programs, followed by realistic specification of concrete objectives and procedures for implementation. 3) Schools can accept their legitimate share of responsibility for the achievement and competence of culturally different children in a culturally plural environment.

A highly significant variable in the learning situation is the teacher. Teachers of Appalachians, many of whom are native Appala-

chians, are in strategic positions both professionally and culturally to effect needed changes. In instructional interaction and as role models, teachers can communicate concepts of plurality and positive expectations, while teaching skills.[33] Teachers can use Appalachian cultural strengths to advantage in the classroom. The dialect and its rich content, oral tradition's vast store, and the anecdotal mode of communication can be most enriching as a legitimate mode of communication in the classroom, along with the "standard" English of dominant society. Capitalizing on the Appalachian predilection for the aesthetic, for feeling as opposed to objectivity alone, can be a most productive avenue. Language and art is self![34]

These stylistic and affective considerations must permeate a vital emphasis on skills and knowledge, both academic and occupational. To interpret this vital need as being best met by vocational educational emphasis alone is to do a disservice; Appalachians need liberal arts skills as well.[35]

Teacher-training is a prime point of entry for multi-educational concepts in educational institutions. Here not only cognitive understanding of cultural differences but that which is desirable in the affective mode, like mutual respect between cultures, can be effectively promoted. Higher education can assist in maintaining open communication with practicing teachers through such devices as continuing education and workshops, while training incoming teachers through pluralistic concepts. Such emphases as analyses of cultural attitudes and self-assessment, exposure to assimilationist and pluralist theory, and stimulation toward cognitive cultural research promote plurality concepts in teacher-training.

Institutions benefit from self-assessment, too. Regional institutions in Appalachia need to continue to stress local and Appalachian identities.[36] Colleges and universities can be regional centers. Research and resources can be devoted to interdisciplinary centers which investigate social processes in Appalachia and productively communicate that research, simultaneously promoting knowledge and instigating cognitive exploration while promoting consciousness. Teachers as well as students need cultural competencies such as are furthered by a humanistic, experience-oriented approach to teacher prepartion.

The Appalachian child can learn creative problem-solving in a pluralistic society through a concerted effort of school, teacher, child, and community and options other than acculturation to a society not one's own. Appalachians who know who they are, who are prepared

with relevant skills and knowledge, and who are aware of potential avenues for self-actualization are "one-up" Appalachians and Americans, whether in the mountains of Appalachia or outside.

In educational policy planning, many present realities for Appalachians concern industrialization, urbanization, modernization, and their accompanying values. Along with this recognition, it must be remembered that Appalachia is in several respects not only Appalachia. Many urban Appalachians are of the working class with vulnerabilities not only in education but in housing, nutrition, and health. Utilization of the culturally familiar and provision of stability-inducing mechanisms can help ensure their survival.

In addition to educational concerns, occupational options in the market place must take precedence in policy considerations. Jencks and others have pointed out that equality in education does not inherently lead to equality in occupation or income.[37] Multicultural educational concepts, or indeed any educational concepts alone, cannot assure reasonable economic and social mobility opportunities. However, a significant policy formation emphasis on more collaborative decision-making with leaders from public and private sectors representing Appalachian interests should encourage more equitable resource allocation and removal of structural supports for problems that plague Appalachia.

The recent national energy crisis and growing concern over the inadequacy of dominant society values have again brought Appalachia to national attention with a discerning that there is much of the positive associated with Appalachian life and values. The traits discerned by sociologists have stood Appalachians in good stead. Despite all the ramifications of official and unofficial policy, of prejudice, discrimination, and implication of imperfection, through generations Appalachians have resisted total assimilation and kept an identity as a distinct people. There is strength in the readiness of Appalachians to strike out for unfamiliar territory in search of economic and social betterment, and in their adaptiveness once there. And there is that same self-sufficient strength at work among Appalachians coping with the complexities of change in the mountains. Robert Coles writes of a mainstay strength which he has seen among Appalachians:

> ". . . the strong ties to cousins, to neighbors, to a host of relatives as well as parents . . . even before adolescence, mountain children learn that a family is no laughing matter, no temporary arrangement characterized by divorce, constant movement and a strictly

limited membership . . . Kin — relatives of one sort or other — have a real and well-known meaning. . . ."[38]

There is a "tightening web of relationships"[39] between Appalachia and the nation which can be a strength to both. It can be a reality, too, that Appalachians and other cultural and ethnic groups can move comfortably between cultures, making transactions and functioning in either culture, and not be caught between the two. Maybe there will not exist such a thing as cultural marginality, and identity can be retained, unquestioned. Educational change and more realistic approaches toward a truly multicultural education can do their part toward such an end. There is much that says there ought to be and will continue to be an Appalachia and Appalachians.

ENDNOTES

1. "Selected Facts About Appalachia," *Appalachia* 10 (October-November 1976): 48-49.

2. See Harry K. Schwarzweller, James S. Brown, and J. J. Mangalam, *Mountain Families in Transition: A Case Study in Mountain Migration*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971).

3. An informative analysis is in Henry D. Shapiro's *Appalachia On Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

4. For one such example see Charles E. Goshen, "Characterological Deterrants to Economic Progress in People of Appalachia," *Southern Medical Journal* 63 (September, 1970): 1053-61, based on a paper presented at the January 1967 meeting of the New York Society of Medical Psychoanalysts.

5. However, Dwight Billings in "Culture and Poverty in Appalachia: A Theoretical Discussion and Empirical Analysis," *Social Forces* 53 (December 1974): 315-23, found Appalachian and non-Appalachian attitudinal differences in his sample to be more due to rurality than to being Appalachian.

6. For related discussion see Stephen Fisher, "Victim-Blaming in Appalachia: Cultural Theories and the Southern Mountaineer," in *Appalachia: Social Context Past & Present*, eds. Bruce Ergood and Bruce E. Kuhre (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1976) pp. 139-48.

7. These themes are summarized in Schwarzweller, *Mountain Families in Transition, pp. 58-67.* Also see Loyal Jones, "Appalachian Values," in *Voices from the Hills: Selected Readings of Southern Appalachia*, eds. Robert J. Higgs and Ambrose N. Manning (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 507-17.

8. Jim Wayne Miller, "A Mirror for Appalachia," in *Voices from the Hills*, p. 457.

9. Neil Smelser in "Towards a Theory of Modernization," in *Social Change: Sources, Patterns, and Consequences*, eds. Amitai Etzioni and Eva Etzioni-Halevy (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 268-84 delineates certain ideological and economic shifts which occur with modernization — those which are toward the urban, toward commercial agricultural, and toward more technological and industrial modes of production. The psychological effects which are a consequence of related social change are analyzed in Marc Fried's "Effects of Social Change on Mental Health," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 34 (January 1964):

3-28. The point is made that factors antecedent to industrialization are also at play in the relative integrity of a traditional order by Herbert Blumer in "Industrialization and the Traditional Order," *Sociology and Social Research* 48 (January 1964): 129-38. Marvin B. Sussman deals explicitly with the interaction of family and bureaucracy in "Family, Kinship, and Bureaucracy," in *The Human Meaning of Social Change*, eds. Angus Campbell and Philip E. Converse (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972), pp. 127-57. An excellent application of these considerations to the Appalachian situation is Harry K. Schwarzweller's "Social Change and the Individual in Rural Appalachia," in *Change in Rural Appalachia: Implications for Action Programs*, eds. John D. Photiadis and Harry K. Schwarzweller (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 51-68.

10. Neil J. Smelser, "The Modernization of Social Relations," in *Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth*, ed. Myron Weiner (New York: Basic Books, 1966), pp. 110-21.

11. Joseph R. Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change," *American Journal of Sociology* 72 (January 1967), 351-62.

12. See Orin E. Klapp, *Collective Search for Identity* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1967): 351-62.

13. James S. Brown and George A. Hillery, Jr., "The Great Migration, 1940-1960," in *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey*, ed. Thomas R. Ford (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967), p. 68.

14. Robert J. Havighurst, "The American Indian: From Assimilation to Cultural Plurasim," *Educational Leadership* 31 (April 1974): p. 587.

15. Jeanne M. Guertin, "Introduction: Multicultural Education," *Educational Horizons* 55 (Summer 1977): p. 167.

16. See Barbara A. Sizemore, "Making the Schools a Vehicle for Cultural Pluralism," in *Cultural Pluralism in Education: A Mandate for Change*, eds. Madelon D. Stent, William R. Hazard, and Harry N. Rivlin (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), pp. 43-54. Also see Leonardo Pachero, "Educational Renewal: "A Bilingual-Bicultural Imperative," *Educational Horizons* 55 (Summer 1977): 168-76.

17. James A. Banks, *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1975).

18. For analysis of one period of high migration, see Brown and Hillery, "The Great Migration, 1940-1960."

19. See Don West, "Romantic Appalachia," in *Appalachia in the Sixties*, pp. 210-16. Harry Caudill, in fact, writes of two worlds coexisting in Appalachia; see "O, Appalachia!" *Intellectual Digest* (April 1973): 16-19.

20. An analysis of theoretical positions is William M. Newman's *American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973). For educational implications see Thomas R. Lopez, Jr., "Cultural Pluralism: Political Hoax?" *Journal of Teacher Education* 24 (Winter 1973): 277-81.

21. On the matter of non-homogeneity see Cratis D. Williams, "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction," *Appalachian Journal* 3 (Autumn 1975): 8-19; and David S. Walls and Dwight Billings, "Appalachians," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, forthcoming).

22. Frank Barna, "Appalachian Ethnomyth and Ethnohistory," paper presented at the Southern Anthropological Society annual meeting, Lexington, Ky., 14 April 1978.

23. A discussion of socio-economic differences among Appalachians is found in Cratis D. Williams, "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction," pp. 19-25. For discussion of some critically related issues see David S. Walls and Dwight Billings, "The Sociology of Southern Appalachia," *Appalachian Journal*

5 (Autumn 1977): 131-44. The concept of the Appalachian middle class, little accounted for previously, is expanded in David S. Walls, "Central Appalachia: A Peripheral Region Within an Advanced Capitalist Society," *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 4 (November 1976): 232-46.

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25. See Schwarzweller, *Mountain Families in Transition*, and John D. Photiadis, "Rural Southern Appalachia and Mass Society," in *Change in Rural Appalachia*, pp. 5-21.

26. Everett V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 8.

27. Patrick W. Carlton and Harold E. Morse, "Challenge to Education in Appalachia," *Appalachia* 10 (February — March 1977): p. 31. Additional sources for statistics with educational relevance in Appalachia include the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Appalachian Regional Commission.

28. Harry K. Schwarzweller and James S. Brown, "Education as a Cultural Bridge Between Appalachian Kentucky and the Great Society," *Rural Sociology* 27 (December 1962): 357-73.

29. James Branscome, "The Case for Appalachian Studies," in *Miseducation in Appalachia* (Huntington, W.Va.: Appalachian Press, 1974).

30. Jim Wayne Miller, "Appalachian Education: A Critique and Suggestions for Reform," *Appalachian Journal* 5 (Autumn 1977): p. 15.

31. Branscome, "The Case for Appalachian Studies."

32. Burton R. Clark, "The 'Cooling-out' Function in Higher Education," *American Journal of Sociology* 65 (May 1960): 569-76, discusses such rationalization for personal failure to achieve.

33. A well-known study of negative teacher expectations is Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, "Teachers' Expectancies: Determinants of Pupils' IQ Gains," *Psychological Reports* 19 (1966): 115-18. Concerning the teacher in the classroom see William J. Mosley and Howard H. Spickler, "Mainstreaming for the Educationally Deprived," *Theory into Practice* 14: 73-81.

34. Throughout their works both Jim Wayne Miller and Loyal Jones advocate listening to the aesthetic in Appalachian culture. Miller presents a strong case in "Appalachian Education." An excellent brief introduction to Appalachian oral tradition is Loyal Jones' "Oral Tradition: The Literature of the Mind," *Messenger* (May 1972); rpt. in *Berea Alumnus* (November-December 1972): 12-15.

35. This point is also stressed by Miller in "Appalachian Education," p. 18, and by Branscome in "The Crisis of Appalachian Youth," in *Appalachia in the Sixties*, pp. 224-31.

36. See Crati D. Williams, "The Role of Appalachia's Colleges in Appalachia's Future," and Jim Wayne Miller, "Appalachian Values/American Values: The Role of Regional Colleges and Universities," papers presented at the Mars Hill, North Carolina, Conference on the Role of Colleges in Southern Appalachia, June 1976. Also see Helen Lewis, "State College: The Clinch Valley Experience," *Mountain Review* 3 (February 1978): 30-34.

37. Christopher Jencks, Marshall Smith, Henry Acland, Mary Jo Bane, David Cohen, Herbert Gintis, Barbara Heyns, and Stephan Michelson, *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). Also see Barry Bluestone, "Economic Theory and the Fate of the Poor," *Social Policy* 2 (January-February 1972): 30-31, 46-48.

38. "Appalachia Lesson for all Americans," *Lexington Leader*, July 1967,

cited by James S. Brown and Harry K. Schwarzweller, "The Appalachian Family," in Photiadis, *Change in Rural Appalachia*, p. 95.

39. This phrase was borrowed from the title of a paper, "The Southern Appalachians and the Nation: A Tightening Web of Relationships," by James S. Brown, presented at the 51st annual conference of the Council of the Southern Mountains, Gatlinburg, Tennessee, 20 February 1963.

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THE CASE OF EVANGELICALS

by Harold W. Berk

According to **Christianity Today**, 1976 was "The Year of the Evangelical."[1] Jimmy Carter had just been elected President of the United States. His injection into the campaign of expressions of personal faith — of being a "born again Christian" and the high visibility given these by the media — is a matter of record. Others of high national visibility in the political scene were also giving public evidence of their faith.[2]

Who are the evangelicals and what are the hallmarks of evangelicalism? What values can evangelical Protestantism offer society? What could this mean to American society?

Toward Identification of the Evangelical

A convenient starting place is Kelly's short but important work on reasons why many conservative churches grow and many established churches die.[3] Kelly observed that religious faith, beginning in a flourish as a highly visible response to deeply felt human need, is one vehicle by which meaning can be discovered in the drama of life. Growing churches are those that seem to maintain that response formula over time, usually through strict discipline. Dying churches, on the other hand, allow a drifting away from the original beginning, usually through a relaxation of discipline, shifts in purpose, democratization, increased deference to outsiders, etc.

Kelly's work is based on a sociological model and does not include the theological dimension. This present study is both narrower and broader than Kelly's; narrower in that an identification of a particular religious commitment is required, broader in that it focuses on people, their values and behavior rather than on a particular organized church structure. It is the author's belief that this somewhat unorthodox approach is better able to reveal relationships for easier identification of essential evangelical Protestant values and behavior.

The Narrow Focus

One is well-advised to accept Pinnock's generalization that, at best, the word "evangelical" as used today is somewhat less than

extremely clear or widely understood.[4] There is historic validity to the phrase "evangelical Protestant," and the two have been used synonymously, and not without reason. In Latin American countries it is still not unusual to hear non-Roman Catholic Christians referred to as "evangelicals." The historic aspect of "evangelical Protestant" does go back to the sixteenth century, to the Protestant Reformation, and this interpretation of the Gospel has generally been contained within structured Protestantism.

What then is the distinguishing theological commitment which would identify evangelicalism as found in the Protestant church? It is the author's best judgment that any person who did not accept the following interpretations of the Gospel would be sorely beset from both within and without to show how, without holding these tenets, he was in fact an evangelist: 1) an emphasis on the authority of the Biblical record over traditions, 2) the efficacy of Jesus Christ alone as the sufficient and sole mediator between any person and God, 3) personal salvation — a conscious, knowledgeable, and lasting relationship with God made possible on God's part by grace and on man's part by faith in Christ, and not on the basis of a person's works or assumed goodness, and 4) the direct access to God, through Christ, by all believers.

When these four commitments are coupled with the historic statements of Christian faith[5] the theological basis for the evangelical Protestant movement becomes clearer. On the question of whether or not the present evangelical thrust is traceable to the Lutheran Reformation, careful reading of Bainton, Luther's biographer,[6] leaves no doubt but that, as a pre-condition for all else that flowed from it, the Reformation was first of all a spiritual revolution in the life of one individual. Luther's use of the phrase "born anew" in describing his personal breakthrough with the Divine typifies similar expressions used by evangelicals throughout the centuries.[7] His were not the problems of social justice, equality, human rights, or the Church. His knowledge of himself, his sensed unworthiness to stand before a Holy God, his inability to resolve his inner conflicts by way of the very instrumentality (the Church) which was to have been the means for settling these issues — these were the things troubling Luther. Evangelicalism has responded consistently to this type of sensed need, and its flowering in Protestantism in the wake of the Lutheran reform has not been by chance.

The Broader Dimension

The following values description requires three words of caution.

Firstly, the list is not inclusive of all values implicit in evangelicalism, though the following are believed to be among the most important. Secondly, one is not to assume that no expression of these occurred before the Reformation. There remain, however, demonstrable relationships between the particular emphases given these values in society and the role of evangelical Protestantism therein. Thirdly, the role of Luther must not be overplayed. Yet, the articulations of this single individual stand as a historic bench-mark and deserve to be recognized as such. Indeed, Luther used such words as "authority," "Scripture," "plain reason," and "conscience" in his concluding statement at the Diet at Worms. These potent, value-laden words, coupled with other words and phrases from his sharp pen, formed the grid upon which Protestantism developed, and, as a particular aspect of that, evangelicalism.

The Question of Authority. At a time when the control of Europe by the Church was loosening and yet approval by the Church still the means of social legitimation, the confrontation of Luther with the Church brought the question of authority over the Christian into bold relief. Luther shifted the **basis** for this authority from unquestioned obedience to dicta from the Church to the testimony of Scripture, believing that God's Word was the authoritative foundation of truth for the believer. This higher allegiance was to condition all the believer's relationship. **"Sola Scriptura"** became a very real and continuing theme in evangelical Protestantism. No less astounding was the accompanying shift in the **locus** of authority — to the individual. Luther claimed this right for all believers.[8] The decentralization of authority in society had begun.

The significance of this can hardly be overestimated. The operating principle is that, **for the evangelical, unqualified deference to all cultural authority, including that of the structured church, is not possible.** Delegated authority is not the evangelical's problem. His is the resolution in his person, of the demands of conflicting authorities, ultimately between Divine and human imperatives.[9] Err though he may in judgment, he has little difficulty in giving verbal response to a question others may have never considered: "What is it, outside of your own person, that you defer to as **ultimately** authoritative over your life, values, and behavior?"

The Enhancement of the Individual. The belief that mankind was created in the image of God is central in all Christianity. Above all the

qualities of goodness, love, justice, etc. normally attributable to God, stand the concepts of creativity and rationality. In this imagery, nothing is so unique to mankind as his ability to know the real, true, good, and beautiful and to make character-forming decisions on the basis of this knowledge.[10] Luther's appeal to both an external rationality and an inner conscience in the making of moral and ethical judgments and his insistence that each person exercise these God-like attributes was a bold affirmation of the worth of a single person. Above all else on earth, **the individual person is where something of the character of God is to be demonstrated and, in this, personal choice is central.** In this certain way, nothing equals the value of a single person. This doctrine of essential personhood, with associated implications, has undergirded evangelical Protestantism's many and varied social commitments. The key to a better society lies not in the construction of a Utopia, it is in the reconstruction of God-likeness in individual people.

Freedom and Responsibility. Luther averred that the Christian was the most free of all men, subject to no one in particular and yet the most servant of all, accountable to everyman.[11] Having no problem with the concept of authority, the evangelical concept of freedom is more that of quality of relationships than that of anatomy. Freedom has meaning in both an inward (spiritual) and outward (social) sense. To the evangelical, there is no freedom anywhere on earth comparable to the spiritual freedom that comes from being released from one's own striving to "make it on his own," from his own efforts to make himself as righteous as he knows he can and must be; in short, a freedom from bondage to self and the suspicion that, given any amount of time or resources, his own person and work are not adequate for him to emerge victorious over his own human predicament, including that last hurdle — death.

Yet, personal freedom is not to be the end of the matter for the evangelical — only the beginning. Only when spiritually free is he free to serve his neighbor with good works, no longer required to establish his own acceptability to God, but, now accepted by God's grace, he offers his service gladly as a stewardship to both God and man. At the highest level, **social freedom for the evangelical is the opportunity to serve humanity from a basis of faith in ways that are in accord with a conscience enlightened by the Scriptures.** He would normally seek out those social contexts where he would have the highest degree of social maneuverability according to the dictates of conscience. He would also desire to increase that manueverability. History bears witness to this

especially so with many of the pioneering fathers on the North American continent.[12]

The freedom that begins with release from inner bondage ends with the assumption of responsibility in all areas of life. **There is no situation in his experience where the evangelical is excluded from some degree of personal responsibility.** Referenced by conscience, with reason enlightened by Scriptures, he has the duty of distinguishing right from wrong, good from bad, should from shouldn't, etc. In life's contexts of home, work, school, and market-place he works out his faith, realizing that not all choices are clean-cut; most are fuzzy. He chooses as responsibility as he knows, and leaves the consequences to Another.

The Dignity of Work. For centuries preceding the Lutheran Reformation, the West maintained sharp distinction between the sacred nature of the church, the worship, the priest, the monk, **et al.** and the unholy character of common people, vocations other than the ministries of the Church, and the work of the world. The monastics left the unholy world for the sanctity of the cloister. Luther purposely cast his lot with the Augustinians, one of the more strict orders, to assure his own acceptability to God apart from the sinful world.[13]

All changed after Luther's transformed understanding of the Gospel, with his growing conviction that **all** of life was to be lived in the context of faith, of total confidence in God, His Grace, His Provision. Insisting that all believers had entrance to the Holy of Holies as any priest, Luther saw no reason to doubt the sacred character of any person or work, no matter how humble.[14] Should not the house-wife consider her role fully as much a calling of God as did the priest? Is the priest a more holy person than the common believer because of a special calling? To Luther, holiness came to the believer through faith, thereby setting as sacred all honorable work of the believer. The evangelical Protestant has an answer to the question: "Who does the world's work?"[15]

The Educational Imperative. Luther's pilgrimage through the storms of despondency and doubt into the clear air of peace and confidence was not achieved through the prescribed rites of the Church. It was not through confession, prayers, celibacy, or the Mass that he was to find rest of soul. It was rather through his studies for lectures at the University of Wittenberg that light began to come. His intense preparation in the Psalms and the books of Romans and Gala-

tians became the means for his enlightenment.[16] Amazingly, formal study of the Scriptures had not been a central part of his education for the priesthood.[17]

It is not strange therefore that Luther's value system would include a strong educational thrust. **The siamese twin evils of sin and ignorance were to be resolved by the similarly related twins of faith and learning, of which the work of Christ and the testimony of Scriptures were central.** The teaching and preaching work of the pulpit gained its definitive thrust under Luther.[18] The central role of Scriptures in all Christian learning was reaffirmed, not only for Catechism, but also for the common schools.[19] Traditional subject matter remained. Yet, Luther's appeal to a dependent rationality and truth contrasted with the autonomous character these had received in Thomistic Scholasticism. The distinctive confessional character of evangelical Protestant education continues this appeal. The education of children received new impetus, with Luther himself developing new materials relating more effectively to the comprehension level of youth.[20] Music became a central part of the life of evangelical Protestants, using a hymnody that related melodious tunes to scriptural themes. Again, Luther's own musical genius continues throughout much of contemporary evangelical Protestantism.

The Evangelical Protestant Legacy

Values find their expression in society. There are, to be sure, those points at which evangelical Protestants have enlarged their social contributions as well as those which have reduced them. No more substantive single record of this multi-valent evangelical Protestant heritage can be found than in Latourette's comprehensive writings.[21] This necessarily brief summary relies heavily on Latourette for both the positive and negative aspects of that legacy.

The Expanding Thrust

Reformation to Revival. Luther was not a systematic theologian. He understood that the Kingdom of God would never be brought in by man and wary of the implicit goodness in humanism, was quite willing to let the state be the state and the church be the church. Christians would simply make society better, not perfect. Calvin, on the other hand, was a brilliant systematician[22] and, with far greater deference to humanism than Luther, sought to structure society in fashion more equal to God's kingdom. Calvin's Geneva was the first serious example in evangelical Protestant history of the attempt to bring all life into a

structured relationship to God — an attempt to fulfill the Cultural Mandate.[23]

Even more radical than Lutheran or Reformed groups, the Anabaptists emerged in strength during the early years of the Reformation, rejecting more of the Roman Church teachings and structures than other reformers. Rejecting any mix of church and state, Anabaptists concentrated on the creation and maintenance of the believing community, built on the lines of the New Testament teachings of Christ. Though not holding a comprehensive theological world-view, the group did employ strict discipline to maintain community distinctives. Initially quite missionary in emphasis, their unpopularity aroused considerable ire, and both Catholic and Reformed groups persecuted them. The ensuing withdrawal of even the more moderate group (Mennonite) remains visible in the isolationist tendency in such contemporary descendents groups as the Amish and Hutterites.

The Pietists emerged from the Protestant-Catholic tragedy of the Thirty-Years War. Spencer, the acknowledged initiator of the movement in the early seventeenth century while Lutheran pastor in Frankfort, sought a deeper spiritual life for his congregation and began home Bible studies, discussions, and prayer sessions. The concept caught on, and the conversion of August Francke, an instructor at the University of Halle, proved fortuitous. Halle became a fertile ground for evangelicalism to flourish, characterized by a missionary zeal along with an emphasis on the simple, pure life. The home of Count Nicolaus Ludvig von Zinzindorf, himself educated at Halle, became the center from which many, in evangelistic zeal, went forth to other places to proclaim the Gospel. Eventually called Moravians, this became the first Protestant church founded with a true missionary vision. Theirs was not the Cultural Mandate, it was rather the Great Commission,[24] and it was for this they lived.

Protestantism began with roots deep in medieval culture and sought initially to change it for the better. Two hundred years later the development of evangelism had begun in earnest.

Revival to Missions. It was in 1735 that the Wesleys, en route to Georgia from England in a storm, encountered some Moravian missionaries who exhibited great calm and fearlessness in the confusion. Returning to England, Charles was converted through further contact with Moravians; and John, while listening to the preface of Luther's "Commentary on Romans," found similar peace as Luther had found two centuries earlier.[25] The result of these conversions was the

beginning of an evangelical awakening that brought not only the Methodist church into being, but also significant social changes in industrializing England. Christians confronted specific social ills with creative modifications; Sunday schools for the poor and illiterate, revision of working conditions, etc. While not bringing in the kingdom, the social effects of evangelicalism were impressive.[26]

Meanwhile, the New World was well along in the Colonies. The opportunity to construct a new life, relatively free from continental constraints, the dispersion of authority, the industrialization, the move westward, the role of religion in public life, the desire for an educated citizenry as well as an educated clergy — in this tinder evangelistic embers were also glowing. Whitefield's preaching only aided the ignition of the Great Awakening, called by Latourette the beginning of evangelicalism in the technical sense.[27] As in England, the religious fervor cut across denominational and theological lines and had similar social effects. Of great importance was the infusing of evangelical Protestant values into society and the consequent undergirding of the emerging American democracy with a vital Christian faith.[28]

Up to this point, the spread of evangelical Protestantism had been accomplished largely through the migration of families. In the wake of the evangelical awakening in England and the Colonies there arose an increased sensitivity to preaching the Gospel to the lost. In 1793 William Carey, an English shoe-cobbler, reached India as the first member of the Baptist Missionary Society. Other mission societies soon formed — both denominational and non-denominational — for the express purpose of enlisting support of evangelical Christians for the cause of world evangelization.

The kingdom had not yet come, but society was very dynamic and the Cultural Mandate was alive. Increasingly, the Great Commission was becoming institutionalized by the new mechanisms for the extensive thrust of the Christian faith.

Missions to the Bomb. Christianity spread explosively in the nineteenth century, with evangelicals at the cutting edge of the growth.[29] It became international, with more American missionaries in foreign lands than from any other country.[30] Revivalism continued in the United States, and the expanding frontier offered unparalleled opportunity for new ventures. Schools and colleges prospered. The laity, became more active in the evangelical thrust, a phenomenon until recently largely unknown in Roman Catholicism. Coupling the

new political freedoms and industrial strength of growing America with its own unique Christian dynamic, evangelical Protestantism flourished.

Latourette called the ninety-nine years before World War I the Great Century.[31] That war, the Great Depression, and World War II did cause a pause in the expanding efforts of evangelical Protestantism. Yet even this could not negate the maturing of societies that had been touched by those to whom the Cultural Mandate was meaningful. Evangelicals had used their mission societies to great advantage, and the Great Commission became the life motivation of many youth throughout America. Although its values were still largely intact, the international military and economic strife had left its mark on the Cultural Mandate and perhaps raised serious questions as to whether the kingdom would come.

The Bomb to World Society. The explosion of the Hiroshima bomb in 1945 allowed not only a reprieve from global conflict but an opportunity for the assembled technology of war to be put to more peaceful purposes. Combined with world-encompassing vision, evangelical leadership seized the opportunity, coupled the Great Commission with the developing economic strength and literally covered the non-communist portion of the globe with the Gospel in a fourth of a century.[32]

During this same period the decolonization of the world was largely accomplished. The new political contexts created by the new developing nations brought new kinds of challenges for evangelical missions. The **scope** of missions had long been international, but not its **control.** The ensuing indigenization of missions was met, in the main, quite effectively with many missions realizing for the first time how paternalistic they had been. Evangelical leadership rose to the occasion, and in so doing was consistent with many values in Protestantism, especially those that related to the conversion of the lost. From this aspect evangelical Christianity continues to move forward, adapting to ever new technologies, expanding into new geo-cultural frontiers. In a real way, the Great Commission thrust of evangelicalism has never been greater nor have prospects been brighter for its continued expansion. The same cannot be said regarding the Cultural Mandate aspect.

Mitigating Factors

Unquestionably, social conditions today in the United States

within which evangelical Protestantism functions are far removed from those in which it had its origins; from a church-sanctioned culture to its opposite, the secular society. Whereto the Cultural Mandate?

Intellectual Pressure. By the turn of the twentieth century, America was coming of age. New educational and scientific themes, formed on the emerging foundation of secular humanism, were on the ascendency, casting shadows of suspicion as to the contemporaneity of the evangelical mindset. Knee-jerk Protestant reaction to the fruit of Darwin, Marx, and Dewey (to name only a few) did not allay the growing hunch that evangelical Christianity was really anachronistic and obscurantistic. Leadership in society became less and less Christian-referenced, more liberal Protestants infused German philosophic and theological thought and were calling for the establishment of the kingdom apart from conversion to Christ. Conservatives responded by restating their understanding of basic Christianity and became the fundamentalists — the defenders of the faith.[33] Many established, denominational churches split. Somewhere between liberalism and fundamentalism, neo-orthodoxy began to flower, accepting both Divine revelation and human effort as co-effective building the new society, yet rejecting the liberal's Utopian kingdom as unrealistic. Still, the casting of historic Christian symbolism in such a theological context increased suspicion among wary fundamentalists that neo-orthodoxy was not historically evangelical.

Yet within structured evangelicalism, the Cultural Mandate still beckoned. By mid-20th Century, Ockenga was calling for a "New Evangelicalism,"[34] to distinguish those who would embrace social responsibilities from the fundamentalists who would not. The nomenclature did not take root, but those value commitments remain characteristic of evangelicals who shun the term "fundamentalist" as used in the contemporary sense.[35]

Values Performance. "Actions speak louder than words" — a truism applicable to the contradictions within evangelical Protestantism. For every value suggested earlier, multiple examples can be cited where the good in each has been negated by the evils of extremism. Remove even a single condition and there is nothing to prevent a Protestant group from eventually becoming a cult and its leader a 'god.'[36] The disaster at Jonestown is a more complete example even than that of Hitler's socialism. For all the Protestant outcry against the authority of the Pope, more than one evangelical pastor covets that

same control over his flock. From whence but a moribund Protestantism could the cult of individualism more logically grow? Change conditions ever so slightly, and where else would one expect to hear an aggressive leader's declaration that he and his group alone had the truth? As Scott indicated, one of the heaviest indictments of evangelical Protestantism is its failure to demonstrate the meaning of human community.[37] What of the unity of the Church theme so oft spoken of but so rarely demonstrated by the separatists? Reduce the sense of accountability and freedom turns to license, gain to greed, service to means of power. How often has the line between effective stewardship and human exploitation not been extremely thin by those in the service of the church?[38] Nothing succeeds like success! How engulfed is modern evangelicalism by the organizational success syndrome?[39] More than one missionary has been consumed by his work rather than by compassion for people. To what extent in evangelical circles have not partial educational mandates replaced the global vision of those whose deepest desire was that the kingdom might come more fully?[40]

At best, the evangelical Protestant legacy has allowed the delicate and determinative issues of life to be exposed in most potent form as well as provided a balance by which these may be contained in dynamic and creative tension. As long as it maintained its full impaction, it allowed for the most extensive grasping or the apprehendable in human history. At worst, by ignorance or default, its recent lessened compass paved the way for an inversion of the apprehendible, wherein efforts toward value realization become counter-productive, where balance becomes impossible, extreme positions unavoidable.

Present Imperfect — Future Tense

Contemporary evangelical commitments in the United States are, in keeping with the legacy, not all of one kind; thus generalizations intended to embrace all aspects of the "evangelical movement" would be very weak. Manifestly impossible to consider all individual instances of evangelical efforts, it is necessary for present purposes to categorize these commitments on the basis of their interpretation of the Gospel and its meaning is society, citing representative groups or individuals.[41]

Evangelical Typology

Traditional Evangelicals. Thoroughly theologically and ecclesi-

astically conservative, traditional evangelicals see the **proclamation** of the message of individual salvation as the business of the church. The Great Commission becomes not only a motivational point for missions, but tends to become the encompassing mission of the church as well. The **church**, local and mystical, becomes the focus of attention — its nature, purity, and extension, the task. High theological sensitivity characterizes this group — the current controversy over scriptural inerrancy finds its cruciality and importance most vehemently supported by defenders of the faith (e.g., the Independent Fundamental Churches of America) who see other than strict inerrancy as the axe laid to the root of the tree.[42] In sharp contrast stands their lack of sensitivity to social issues of the day (i.e., human needs other than personal salvation). Essentially non-responsive to the Cultural Mandate so keenly felt by other evangelicals, the resultant **accommodation** to social structures allows for both the acceptance of contemporary social values and the use of the sacred/secular model for interpreting society. The Gospel tends to become indistinguishable from cultural accoutrements and Christian service tends to become service done only for the Church. Until recently, much of the work of evangelical missions has been cradled in the traditionalist format.

Progressive Evangelicals. In contrast to the social insensitivity of the traditionalist, **contextualization** is "where it's at" for progressive evangelical leadership. Progressivists view Christianity as a transcultural reality where certain universal values are shared, yet where different believing groups work these and other values out in their own **cultural particularity.** Contextualization is the recognition of cultural validity apart from the concept of a single Christian superculture and the consequent requirement to define the Gospel in terms of the particular culture. The Great Commission and the Cultural Mandate **are** the meaning of the Gospel, **integration** of these in life is the task. Far less sensitive to issues that divide Christians than to those that unite them, the progressivist's deference to the wide range of human needs stirs committed response. The orphan work ignited in Korea by Robert Pierce in the aftermath of the Korean conflict stands as a shining monument to the humanitarian response capability of evangelical missions as well as of an individual.[43] Ronald Sider's efforts to wake up evangelicals to their social responsibilities has its effects.[44] The emerging Christian College Consortium has the integration of faith and learning as its rationale, Christian penetration of the world its objective.[45]

Radical Evangelicals. Radical evangelical Christianity sees the **reformation** of culture by removing from it particular values and

value expressions it considers contradictory to the Gospel as presented in Christ's life. It takes the Cultural Mandate seriously and the **incarnation** of Christ's spirit in the **community** becomes the basis of its work. It is generally revolutionary in life style and methods. The rise of Christian communes and extended families, banding together "for the cause" in the past two decades has been remarkable. Active, usually non-violent resistance against unjust social structures is the modus operandi. The Sojourners, approximately fifty people under the leadership of James Wallace, have achieved national visibility in recent lears for reasons not unrelated to their attractive journal with its articulate commentary.[46] Presently refusing to fully pay corporate federal taxes on the basis of conscientiously objecting to their use for military purposes, the leadership is willing to go to jail if need be, believing the system can be changed if Christians would **act** on the values implicit in Christ's life and teaching. The radicalists are nearly one with liberal political thrusts in their great sensitivity and sharp rhetoric accorded the contemporary social themes of justice, equality, affluence, poverty, war, military-industrial complex, etc. Though at times seemingly insensitive to the Great Commission as understood by the traditionalist, the radicalist deniss the essential Christian requirement for community only at the cost of undercutting his own authority as well as that of the community from which he moves against society.

Contemporary Evangelical Initiative — An Example

How do these groups of evangelicals respond to cultural social issues? A good instance of action taken is the present phenomenal rise of Christian day schools across the country.[47] Why, particularly at this time of increasing financial pressure on all segments of society, do evangelical Protestants insist on building their own schools when there are already existing facilities that are being forced to close?

The more radical evangelicals are not likely to be building new schools as such for their children. Not sufficiently affluent nor with sufficient interest to build physical facilities, the radical evangelical teaches his children within the community that makes his radicalism possible. The progressive, having access to wealth, may still not care to duplicate educational environments simply to get complete control over them. He would rather infuse existing systems with his values as long as he had sufficient freedom to do so. Denied this, he would probably join with the traditionalist, who, after giving up on changing the public system, opts to bite the dollar bullet and builds his own school.

The role of religion, particularly evangelical Protestantism, cannot be overlooked in the historical development of education in the United States. DeToqueville observed that, although the affairs of church and state were formally separate, the deep permeation of American life by Christianity was a most signal fact in explaining the uniqueness of American society.[48] Many thinking parents are deeply disturbed by the quality of education in public schools. Surely evangelicals are not the last to become aware of difficulty in assuring that their voice is sufficiently heard and in regard to things that matter most in the formation of thought and character in the lives of their children. Coons and Sugarman have moved past the questions of content and professionalism and flatly state that **the issue is the juridical question of control.**[49] Their belief is that control over the education of children in the United States lies where it has been and always should be — with the parents.[50] Suggesting that the public school system is becoming an anachronism, they believe that the times are right for re-establishment of the rights of parents to determine their children's education.[51]

The evangelical, who shares similar values, has no difficulty with this posture. As his local church affiliation provides the needed social basis for action, the natural result is the emergence of the day school in conjunction with the local church. Church and state may be separate, but the evangelical educator draws deeply from the value wells of both church and state. He must teach without value compromise and, if he cannot do so in the public system, he will in his own.

Government officials and public school educators might do well to consider the impact religious conviction has on education in any context.[52] Continued insistence upon total control of the process of education by public professionals could easily become counter-productive to the public system. In one state there is the tendency to make solutions to problems of public education the all-encompassing framework in which private institutions would find their role and meaning.[53] Over time, the relationships between the public and private sectors could become further strained, with charges of the wasting of resources and duplication of effort countered by the insistence to give evidence of the social freedom and value neutrality so loudly championed by the democratic state. Further bifurcation of American educational society is probable, though not inevitable.

In Retrospect

In the totality of its divergent manifestations, contemporary

evangelicalism shows value commitments similar to those found throughout its history. Yet, the balance of its mandates has seemed precarious; presently strong in world evangelism, weaker in its cultural impact where once it had been strong. If evangelical Christianity is optimal when its sensitivities are in dynamic balance, then increased communication between traditionalists, progressives, and the radicals would seem in order. **E Pluribus Unum!** Still, evangelicals in America have not **had** to get together in such corporate tightness to insure the possibility of realizing Christian values in their lives. If Christians now **must** get together to defend "their rights" **against** others, the "case for the Evangelicals" may well be considered, for therein may lie elements essential for social health in America, of which evangelical Christianity is not only a contemporary phenomenon, but, as demonstrated by many, has been a foundational part.

FOOTNOTES

1. David Kucharsky, "Year of the Evangelical, 76," *Christianity Today*, Vol. 21 (Oct. 22, 1976), pp. 12-13.
2. e.g., Charles Colson, Harold Hughes, and Mark Hatfield.
3. Dean M. Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches are Growing* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), pp. 174-179.
4. Clark H. Pinnock, "An Evangelical Theology: Conservative and Contemporary," *Christianity Today*, Vol. 23, No. 7 (Jan. 5, 1979), pp. 23-29.
5. i.e., the Apostle's and Nicene Creeds.
6. Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand* (New York: Mentor Books, 1955).
7. E. Harris Harbison, *The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), p. 120.
8. The concept of "the priesthood of all believers" (incorporated within the four distinguishing theological tenets listed on p. 2) particularly underlines the protestant commitment to individual "rights."
9. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1951), p. 11.
10. Christians belive it is possible to know, either by being deceived or by choice, what, in the long run, turns out to be the false, ugly, sordid, and unholy. The basis of this belief is Genesis, Ch. 3.
11. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1953), p. 714.
12. Robert Woodburn, in lecture series at Detroit Bible College, Fall, 1976, delineated between the faith of the pioneering fathers and that of the founding fathers of American society. The motivations of the pioneers are well-documented in American history.
13. Bainton, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
14. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 721.
15. One of the questions asked in the search for a Christian philosophy of education by Nicholas Henry Beversluis, *Christian Philosophy of Education* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, National Union of Christian Schools, 1971), p. 23.
16. Bainton, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 722.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Bainton, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-64.

21. Latourette, *op. cit.* See also his extensive and comprehensive seven volume series, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970 edition, 7 Volumes)

22. Harbison, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

23. The command of God that man is to have dominion over the world and all that is in it, including fallen humanity. Based on Genesis 1:28 and Genesis 3:16-19.

24. The command of Christ that his followers should go into all the world and make disciples. Based on Matthew 28:19-20.

25. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, pp. 1024-25.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 1031-32.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 1019.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 963.

29. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, Ch. L., especially pp. 1272-74.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 1272.

31. Latourette devoted three volumes of his *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* to "The Great Century." See Vol. 4, *The Great Century: Europe and the United States*, for more specific study of Protestantism in America.

32. Ralph D. Winter, *The Twenty-Five Unbelievable Years 1945-1969* (South Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1970).

33. J. I. Packer, *Fundamentalism and the Word of God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1958), pp. 28-29.

34. Harold J. Ockenga, *Faith in a Troubled World* (Wenham, Massachusetts: Gordon College Press, 1972), p. 77.

35. The term 'fundamentalist' has come to have a pejorative connotation. For perspective, see L. Tarr, "The Hermetically Sealed World of Neo-Fundamentalism," *Eternity*, Vol. 27, Aug., 1976, p. 22f.

36. Specifically, removal of Scriptures from authoritative position in the community. Anthony A. Hockma, *The Four Major Cults* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976 edition), suggests four additional factors are 1) denial of justification by grace alone. 2) the devaluation of Christ, 3) the group as the exclusive community of the saved, and 4) the group's central role in eschatology.

37. John R. W. Stott, "Unhooked Christians," *Christianity Today*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Oct. 7, 1977), pp. 40-41.

38. e.g. the best stewardship of resources can easily become the lowest wages one has to pay.

39. Harold Y. Vanderpool, "The American Success Syndrome," *Christian Century*, Vol. XCII, No. 30 (Sept. 24, 1975), pp. 820-23.

40. e.g. present differences between the concept of a Bible College (accentuating the Great Commission) and a Christian liberal arte college (highlighting the Cultural Mandate theme) have continued visibility, with little discourse about both having some common foundational elements.

41. The use of specific names as representative of a particular type does *not* imply an exclusivity within that category. The typology itself is not discrete and therefore can only imply visible emphases.

42. For a discussion of the inerrancy question from the more traditionalist viewpoint, see the "Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, Vol. 29 (Dec. 1978), pp. 289-96.

43. Robert Pierce, late founder of World Vision International, a humanitarian Christian mission agency, saw his orphanage work eventually accommodate a total of 160,000 Korean orphans. He also, through his more recent organization, Samaritan's Purse, provided for the purchase of ten aircraft for Mission Aviation Fellowship, a para-church mission agency with world-wide involvement.

44. Ronald J. Sider, *Rich Christians in a Hungry World* (Downer's Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1977).

45. Harold W. Berk, "The Christian College Consortium in Social Context," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio, 1974, Ch. 6.

46. *Sojourners*, 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. The magazine is the official organ of Sojourners Fellowship, an incorporated entity.

47. This movement continues to develop organizationally. Contact Dr. Paul A. Kienel, Executive Director. Association of Christian School International, P.O. Box 4097, Whittier, CA 90607.

48. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. 2 (New York: Vintage Books, 1957), pp. 6-7.

49. John E. Coons and Stephen D. Sugarman, *Education by Choice: The Case for Family Control* (Berkley: University of aClifornia Press, 1978), p. 223.

50. *Loc. cit.*

51. Coons and Sugarman, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-21.

52. The 1978-79 Iranian Crisis should make an excellent study. In a news interview in January, 1979, Henry Kissinger indicated that the Shah of Iran had been doing all the things best American graduate schools had suggested for development of the country. The media coverage of the Khomeini-led revolutionary force indicates the religious, anti-west, and anti-democratic overtones of the movement.

53. The Michigan State Board of Education has formulated six proposals in response to growing problems in Michigan public higher education and for the purpose of gaining as much control over public institutions as it in fact has over private institutions. These proposals would give the state total authority to determine all educational needs of Michigan citizens and would effectively make private institutions subsets of a single public system.

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THE CASE OF JEWS, ITALIANS, IRISH, AND CHINESE

by Martin L. Berman and Albert W. Vogel

In 1963, under the auspices of the Joint Center for Urban Studies, Glazer and Moynihan published **Beyond the Melting Pot.**[1] While limited chiefly to studying the ethnic populations in New York City, this book shattered once and for all the notion that America was a great melting pot in which immigrants from all over the world (except possibly Blacks and Orientals) melted down into one identifiable, cultural American. Even though Glazer and Moynihan and others after them convincingly demonstrated the hollowness of the melting pot theory, it has deep historical roots[2] and for some still has a certain amount of credence and popularity. The ideal of foreign groups being absorbed through various forms of Americanization, schooling being the foremost, into the American body politic persists in the popular imagination. Historically, moreover, the rhetoric of assimilation has been used as specious evidence of the fulfillment of the promise of American life for various immigrant and disfranchised groups.[3] Further at critical junctures in our past, this notion has been fostered to fuse mass sentiment and to mobilize the masses. Although our popular literature and movies have shown both the optimistic and tragic sides of the Americanization story, it has been the successes which until recently have been predominant in the popular mind. For example, the melting pot view was fostered for what seemed like good reasons at the time by the novels and movies published and released during World War II. In many of these films one finds the protagonist, GI Joe, the "Connecticut Yankee"of the period albeit with an Italian-Irish-Jewish surname, confronting the **foreign** cultures of Western Europe. It is in these films, too, that corollary aspects of the Americanization myth are advanced. These are the mythologized ideas of humble birth and small town life.

Ironically, very, very few American immigrants experienced either of the two myths described above. For most European immigrants, life in America began and ended in the Urban centers of the East Coast. And the tenement, not the log cabin was the remembered abode. Readers interested in contemporary accounts which differ substantially from the traditional historical and sociological accounts[4] should seek the book by Glazer and Moynihan, **The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics** by Michael Novak[5] and **The Golden Door, Italian and Jewish Immigrants Mobility in New York City, 1810-1915** by

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Thomas Kessner.[6] This essay will touch on just a few groups — the Italians, Irish, Jews, and the Chinese — relating in general terms each group's migration pattern and motives and its experiences with the schools.

Immigrants did not come to this country for the same reasons, and they still don't. Neither for that matter do they bring with them the same occupational and social skills nor the same hopes for the future. For the most part Jews immigrated to the United States by families. Only about one half of those arriving were of working age. The others were either children or old people who would not normally be expected to, nor desire to immigrate. They came for much the same reason that the Puritans came — to find religious freedom and to escape the persecution of their homeland. All Jews in the United States do not share the same background. Those from Germany and the Western countries of Europe tended to be urban in background and to bring with them the urban skills associated with business, science, and management. Those from Eastern Europe came from a rural setting, but they were not farmers in the sense that the Irish for instance were farmers. They came from small towns in Russia and Poland as well as the other countries of Eastern Europe but their background was the ghettoized experience of the "shetl" and small rural towns. They brought with them a number of skills which were greatly needed in the burgeoning American industrial apparatus. Recently, Israelis have begun to arrive in the United States, but they would seem to be a separate group as both their backgrounds and experiences in America differ greatly from the Jews who came in the nineteenth century. Although the problems faced by this group illuminate to some extent the conflicts encountered and social adjustments made by previous immigrant groups, they do not concern us here other than to illustrate the historical continuities of the complex and at times conflicting and contradictory interplay between both institutions and cultural groups. The persecution of the Jews during the nineteenth century and under the Nazis' is well known, but we mention it here to underscore the reasons Jews have had to flee to America. While the United States was not **Mahogonny**, the land of milk and honey, and at times anti-semitism was virulent, persecution of Jews never reached the levels of the pogroms of Russia or the concentration camps of Germany.

The Italians, on the other hand, came for entirely different reasons. They came to work, but their home was Italy. Usually the men came alone and expected to return to their homeland when they had saved enough money. Many returned to Italy from time to time

(in 1880 the fare from New York to Naples was only 14 dollars) reaffirming their familial, linguistic, and cultural links to their native land. The Italians did not expect to become Americans, and voluntarily chose to live in Italian neighborhoods where their culture, language, and other values would be supported and preserved. A substantial number, in fact, did return to Italy to live out their lives, but not as many as originally planned to do so. Many others became established, sent for their families, or married daughters of Italians who had already brought their families over, and settled down in the same communities they had lived in as single men. For the Italians — most of who came from Southern Italy and Sicily and were peasants — work was supposed to be physical. They did not, as a rule, expect nor think of college educations and/or white collar jobs for their children. And they did not consider working outside of their own community or outside of family businesses.

The Irish never really chose to immigrate to the United States; one suspects that most would have rather remained in Ireland, but were driven out by persecution and hunger. Leon Uris in **Trinity**[7] has painted an accurate if dismal picture of Irish life in the old country. Ireland literally belonged to the English crown, and the crown could give pieces of it to noblemen to provide income. The nobility rarely lived on their lands, but turned the management of the estates over to Scots-Presbyterians imported for the purpose. The Irish who had previously held much of the land in common were reduced to working their own middle class position only by sending adequate revenues to the absentee landlords in England. The Irish lived in poverty, the Scots lived in middle circumstances and the nobility benefitted from the exploitation of both classes. The potato famine was the straw that broke the Irish people's back. The famine was caused by a fungus which destroyed the potatoes which were their primary source of nourishment. The potatoes blackened and rotted in the storage bins. Allowed nothing else from the land, the Irish had no alternative but to leave Ireland and to seek a livelihood elsewhere. Being farmers they brought with them few skills that could be used in urbanized, industrialized America except the strength in their backs. The Irish immigrants literally dug the Erie Canal by hand and 37 Irish laborers died at this work every day. Today, it is difficult to remember that the Irish were once one of the most hated groups to come to America, and that it was also argued that they were uneducable. Many of the Irish, like the Italians, arrived here with the hope that they would one day return to their homeland. When that dream failed, they settled down and sent for their women and established families in the Irish neighborhoods of New York, South Boston (Southie) and Chicago.

Here too, like the Italians, they hoped to preserve their culture and their religion. English speaking for the most part, they did not worry about preserving their language as the Italians did.

It has been difficult for Americans to write or to understand the Chinese. A novel by a Chinese woman[8] might be helpful to anyone who attempts to understand the Chinese both in China and the United States. They came at the end of the nineteenth century to work on the railroad as laborers, and to work on the fishing fleets out of west coast ports. Like the Italians and the Irish they always planned to return to their homeland. To this very day, many Chinese think of one day going home. Coming from the East rather that from Western Europe they tended to avoid the New York City experience, but their life in Chinatowns of the west coast was similar to the urban, ghettoized life of European immigrants in the east. Their skills were rural and the best jobs they could find were as laborers. Their language like their culture had little in common with either European languages, culture, or English. Moreover, their food, their dress, their sense of society and law were markedly different from that of other immigrants. Although many did return to their homeland, many others were able eventually to send for their families, and to establish themselves in this country. When the railroads were built, and mechanization took over the low status jobs they had held in the fishing fleets, they turned to restaurants and laundries which served both the non-Chinese and Chinese populations. Even today, many Chinese are engaged in businesses that serve the Chinese community. When they move out of the Chinese community and into the professions they frequently find it beneficial to seek professions which do not require English language facility such as engineering, mathematics, and the sciences.

Of the four groups discussed above, all came to improve their economic position. At least two sought religious freedom. Three of them longed to return to their homeland. Only the Jews had skills and intellectual history which prepared them to the extent to establish themselves in the urbanized, industrialized society that America was fast becoming after the Civil War. Even of the Jewish immigrants who one could argue were best prepared to enter the educational and economic mainstream, the Jews who within a few generations were professionals had brought the foundation of their success with them in terms of their middle class values and experience.[9] The other groups found that their traditional occupation, small scale agriculture, was beyond their means in the new land and turned their attention to labor and low status jobs for lack of any true alternative. Each group

sought to ameliorate its position in the new world, and each chose a different route.

The demands made by each of these groups upon American society have been — by contemporary standards anyway — minimal and varied. Only the Jews, however, had a doctrine to guide them. In 1917 Franz Rosenzweig[10] codified the historical Jewish attitude toward education in a thin volume called in translation, **On Jewish Learning.** Basically his thesis was that Jews will always be outsiders wherever they live. And they must take the steps themselves to preserve and protect their culture. On the other hand, if they expect to prosper, they must master the skills of the host country. The preservation of the culture and language is a private matter accomplished without aid from the general population. In order to accomplish the second objective it is necessary for Jews to have free access to the institutional resources of the society. This second aim was not as easy to accomplish as might appear. Jews faced prejudice even in the United States and had to fight and make "Gentlemen's agreements" in order to get in to universities and colleges. Under the circumstances, it was out of the question for them to make special demands upon those institutions for admission. Thus, the Jews had to overcome their language, cultural, and foreignness problems by themselves and either met or exceeded the admission requirements. This, to some extent, they did.

The Irish Catholics faced a different kind of problem. They were first of all despised for being Catholic. Their culture and background did not really prepare them to compete in the schools and universities and they were not prepared to suffer the indignities that the schools and curriculum inflicted upon them. Their solution was to establish their own — and visible — school system independent of the public schools; Catholic church related schools and Catholic institutions of higher learning (Boston College, for example, was established to rival Harvard) staffed by Catholic clergy.

The Italians, yearning and expecting to return to their homeland as previously discussed, made even fewer demands upon the society and school. Although there were many Italians who attended universities, the general policy of the Italian community was to look to the family for training, support, and opportunities rather than to the schools or university system. Committed for the most part to a philosophy of physical work and family businesses they did not see how schooling could benefit them, indeed, it might cause harm to the family by encouraging the youth to go out of the community and seek the professions.

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For the Chinese the problem was greater for a number of reasons. First, the Chinese community lived with the hope of returning to China. This meant that education on the American model was irrelevant and unnecessary. Further, the Chinese felt as the Italians did that schooling would only tend to damage the family and the culture rather than to preserve either one. In light of their priorities and the socialization and Americanization goals of the schools, they were probably right. Preparing their children for the return to China meant that the traditional education, intended to prepare children for the rural life their parents had left, required only the education or training that could be provided by the family. In Kirgston's[11] book she indicated that many children had to fight their parents in order to attend school and go on to higher education.

In summary, then, all four groups made essentially the same demand upon American society: they wished to be able to preserve their culture and when appropriate their language. They approached this problem in different ways, however.

Broadly speaking, the policy of the schools during the first 40 years of this century was to Americanize all of the immigrants as quickly as possible. This was often a painful process. One of the authors remembers entering the first grade in a New York City public school in 1936, to find that half of the children did not speak English. They spoke Yiddish, Italian, Greek, Polish and perhaps some other languages. For some the transition to English was fairly painless. But some had real problems, and it was not without anxiety that they learned to communicate in English. Many of us have either read about, witnessed or experienced the pressure brought to bear on these children to speak English by well meaning teachers. For many of these children their total schooling experience consisted of daily humiliation and frustration. The psychological effect of this pressure is difficult to assess, particularly since these children as they grew older had the opportunity to enter an expanding market for labor where muscle and dexterity were more prized than skill and literacy. In recent years we have asked teachers to be more sensitive to the linguistic and cultural differences of their students. And in retrospect we have taken issue with and castigated those teachers who were committed to the Americanization doctrine. However, these teachers were following a widely held and popular doctrine of the time and believed that they were doing what was best for the child.

Each of these groups has produced enough distinguished or successful people to suggest to the rest of the country that all the mem-

bers of that community have done well in America. But this is not necessarily the case. The extent to which families and individuals have prospered is a complicated one. Christopher Jencks[12] and Colin Greer[13] have examined this question from various perspectives. It is not our intention to review the works of Jencks and Greer but rather to point out that as a group we will regard the Italians, Irish, Jews, and Chinese in stereotypic forms.

Each of these groups is now facing a struggle which all minority groups in America face, a struggle to preserve themselves. But it is probably safe to say that as long as the economy remains about as it is, the ethnic ghettos will survive, and as long as the ghettos are intact, ethnicity of some sort will preserve. Of course, it was a Chinese family that brought the suit that led to the bilingual decision of the Supreme Court. In some east coast universities there are departments of Jewish and Italian studies. While the authors have not been able to find an Irish studies department, we are prepared to believe that one might exist. Whether or not these programs will serve as a potent force to aid in the perservation of the cultures and the languages in America is a matter for conjecture.

NOTES

1. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1963.
2. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925*, revised ed., New York: Atheneum, 1969.
3. Colin Greer, *The Great School Legend*, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972.
4. For example, James Truslow Adams' study of Adult Education, *Frontiers of American Culture*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944 portrayed the immigrant experience in the new land and the Americanization process in optimistic terms. Also, Lawrence Guy Brown's *Immigration: Cultural Conflicts and Social Adjustments*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1933 part of the Longmanns' Social Science Series advanced the "assimilationist" solution for the plight of the immigrant.
5. Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, New York: MacMillan, 1972.
6. Thomas Kessner, *The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City, 1880-1915*, University Press, 1978.
7. Leon Uris, *Trinity*, New York: Doubleday, 1976.
8. Maxine Horg Kirgston, *The Woman Warrior*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.
9. *Greer, op. cit.*
10. Franz Rosenzweig, *On Jewish Learning*, New York: Schocken Books, (1917) 1955.
11. Kirgston, *op. cit.*
12. Christopher Jencks, *et. al., Inequality, A Reassessment of the Effects of Family annd Schooling in America*, New York: Basic Books, 1973.
13. Greer, *op. cit.*

THE CASE OF MEXICAN AMERICANS*

by John A. Garcia

The concern for multicultural education in a culturally diverse nation encompasses a wider area of concern when one takes into account the impact of those cultural groups on general social processes and institutional responses. For the Mexican American population, those concerns range from bilingual education and access to policy-making institutions to foreign policy issues, particularly those related to U.S.-Mexico relations. The central thrust of this paper will be to discuss the patterns of Mexican American cultural maintenance; the nature of institutional intervention and response; and the remaining policy agenda and policy implementation for Mexican Americans. Since these topics cover a very broad spectrum, I will use two policy areas, education and political participation, to illustrate the magnitude and specific issue concerns for Chicanos.[1] For all practical purposes, it is assumed that multiculturalism and ethnic identities are facts of American life.

Cultural Diversity and Mexican Americans

Recently, the Mexican origin population has been characterized as "forging Chicano power"; reportedly, it is now "Hispanics Turn in the Sun" (**New West,** 1978; **Time,** 1978). The recent rediscovery of Chicanos by the mass media, political organizations, etc. (critical institutions) recalls the practice of labeling some twenty years ago when other terms such as "the invisible minority" or the "sleeping giant" were frequently used. It is these recurring, vacillating portrayals of Chicanos that leave many Americans confused about this group, which includes both the more recent wave of immigrants and part of the earliest settlers in America.

Social and historical treatments of Mexican Americans have stressed the Mestizo composition of this people, the place of the Catholic religion in culture, their subjugation following the Mexican-American War, and their cultural and political isolation from major American institutions. (Rendon, 1970; McWilliams, 1965; Acuna, 1972). While the Mexican American presence spans more than four centuries, the range of experiences and cultural expression varies from

*Editor's note: The original title of this essay was "Multicultural Education and Its Policy Correlates: The Case of Mexican Americans."

sub-region to sub-region, i.e. South Texas, northern New Mexico, the Great Lakes area, etc. Variations in dialects, traditions, foods, life-types, and inter-group relations have established divrsity among Mexican Americans.

It is this confluence of cultural diversity and similarity that realistically portrays Chicanos. Mexican Americans in the United States are united by a shared history, language, traditions, and values (i.e. certain familial patterns such as **compadrazgo**, etc.). At the same time, Chicanos experience varying social climates, as indicated, in terms of majority attitudes, differential treatment, and the degree of integration into local communities. Of special import is the level of involvement by Chicanos in the political and economic institutions of each of the five Southwestern states (Moore, 1970). Generally, the Chicano experience has ranged from isolation and exclusion and political subjugation to limited participation. The variation in historical experiences notwithstanding, the status of most Mexican Americans is marked by lower educational and income levels than other Americans.

A brief demographic look at the approximately 7.2 million people of Mexican origin (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1978) reveals important trends that impact on national policy. Mexican Americans, for instance, are a very young population, forty-two per cent being less than eighteen years of age, and only four per cent are older than sixty-five years. Educationally, only fifty-seven per cent of Mexican Americans (ages 25-29) have attended high school, and fifty-eight per cent are employed as blue collar workers (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1978). In terms of income, Chicanos lag by almost $2,500 compared to non-Chicanos ($7,797 vs. $10,261). Finally, larger numbers of Chicanos fall below the poverty level (twenty-one per cent vs. nine per cent) than non-Chicanos.

Demographically, noteworthy information about Mexican Americans is their growing numbers, over fourteen per cent increase in the last five years, and their relatively lower status — educationally, occupationally, and in income — than other Americans. The growth rate is due largely to higher birth rates and the continued migration from Mexico. Now the country's fastest growing cultural group, Chicanos are bidding to become an increasingly influential group. Yet, Chicanos are aware that their lower socio-economic position gives rise to pressing policy issues — employment, educational programs, political access, and linguistic recognition — as well as being an obstacle to effective organizational efforts. Mexican Americans exist as an identi-

fiable group in the United States because of self-identification, high rates of intra-group association, and maintenance of cultural traditions and mores. It is their existence in the larger national society which poses the problem with what is to be the Chicano "place in the American sun" and how societal institutions will respond to that problem in terms of the policy concerns and demands of the Chicano community.

Multicultural Education and Educational Institutions

As the Mexican American community sorts out a number of critical policy issues, one area remains as one of the foremost concerns — education. For most Americans, educational achievement has been regarded as the vehicle for upward social and economic mobility. The track record for most Chicanos has not been a very fruitful one in our educational system. The gamut of problems ranges from ability tracking, imprecise and invalid testing instruments, high rates of grade repetition, negative labeling, isolation, and linguistic limitations (Carter, 1970; U.S. Civil Rights Commisson, 1974).

Bilingual Education and Policy Implications

Certainly, Chicano concerns for the educational impact on predominantly Spanish-speaking children place the issue of bilingual education at the forefront of attention. Large numbers of Chicano public school children have been physically and psychologically penalized because their lifestyles and language deviated from the accepted monolingual English-speaking norm. As a result, many have been — and presently are — isolated in "Mexican only" schools, specialized educational tracks, or specialized bilingual classes (Uribe, 1978). Many Mexican Americans speak of "linguistic liberation" and argue that full scale bilingual education moves toward cultural "decolonization" of the dominant Anglo society. Additional points of view suggest that bilingual instruction will surely enable most Chicano children to perform to their fullest abilities in school.

The heart of the policy controversy lies in the right of Chicanos to a cultural and linguistic existence and in the pedagogical value of bilingual/bicultural instruction. Critics have attacked bilingual programs for being inadequate, ill-conceived, too parochial (i.e. language programs for other non-English speaking groups, as well), and have encouraged the growth of "linguistic communalism" or "cultural separation." Critics point to other countries' problematic experiences with different linguistic groupings, such as India, Belgium, and

Canada. There are fears of creating a nation-within-a-nation and of stifling mobility for Mexican Americans in a predominantly English speaking culture. The controversy touches the political system as evidenced by **Lau vs. Nichols** (1974) which sustained the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's regulation requiring special educational programs for non-English speaking students. With some form of bilingual program mandated by this Supreme Court decision, the remaining issues are the level of support by policy institutions (local school districts, federal educational programs, and state legislatures), the substance of bilingual instruction (English as a Second Language, transitional vs. maintenance programs, etc.), and the degree of public legitimation given to bilingualism and biculturalism. Much of the future of bilingual education will lie with the coherent and concerted articulation of the programs and required resources to fully implement bilingual education.

Yet, bilingual education encounters some additional difficulties when it must contend with local communities' efforts to desegregate their school systems. Since 1970, Chicanos have been recognized as a separate group (**Cisneros vs. Corpus Christi** ISD, 1970) for purposes of achieving school desegregation (Salinas, 1973). As a result, Southwestern communities have had to face the challenge of developing tri-ethnic desegregation plans. The problem that this has created is one of defining bilingual education in a desegregated setting. Concerns of Mexican Americans (Haro, 1978) have been primarily those of curriculum development, bilingual programs, and the larger concern of equal opportunity and quality education in barrio schools. The goal of desegregation is to dismantle a dual school system (via the transporting of students) in an attempt to address the issue of equal educational opportunity. These goals can conflict since desegregation efforts focus on the dispersal of students in accord with racial balance, while bilingual education generally requires a concentration of non-English speaking students.

In communities where desegregation either has occurred or is in process of compliance (e.g. Los Angeles, Tucson, Corpus Christi, etc.), Mexican Americans have put forth a different policy agenda than black or Anglo segments of the community. The Mexican American community places bilingual education as a primary goal with less emphasis on the question of minority concentrations in segregated schools. Although oversimplified, these two goals may compete in terms of court remedies or plans. If a school district does not respond to the special educational needs of linguistically different children, then a federal statutory violation has occurred; school segregation, on the other

hand, is a constitutional violation (Uribe, 1978). In some communities, officials have requested the courts to exempt Chicano children from desegregation orders for special educational circumstances. Yet, if bilingual programs increase ethnic separation, then serious questions are raised in terms of meeting the desegregation mandate.

The bilingual education-desegregation problems are further compounded when federal funding policies for bilingual programs set forth certain criteria which stipulate the size of the linguistic group at a given school in order to establish a bilingual program. With the dispersal of Spanish-speaking children, problems are created in determining whether bilingual programs can follow these students wherever they are placed. Recently, Congressional legislation has altered Title I by limiting the use of these monies (i.e., special programs such as bilingual education) to only the first year that students are involuntarily moved. These illustrations are meant to demonstrate the types of educational concerns that Chicanos have presented and the types of problems posed by the interrelationship between bilingual education and school desegregation. Part of the problem stems from the legitimation of bilingual education pedagogically, as well as politically.

Mexican American Culture and the Political Arena

With a rapidly growing population, Mexican Americans are being touted as a rising political power and are achieving greater access to major decision-making institutions. Some writers (**Time**, 1978; **New West**, 1978) argue that the very numbers of the Hispanic community guarantee that they will play an increasingly important role in shaping the nation's politics and political future. Before labeling the 80's as the "Decade of the Hispanics," it should be noted that the level and impact of political participation among Chicanos has not been very high. Characteristically, Chicanos have been severely underrepresented in decision-making bodies and have experienced limited access to conventional means of political participation.

There are a number of reasons for the slow growth of influence in politics and bureaucracies. The reasons would include: institutional barriers (i.e., poll tax, literacy tests, gerrymandering, at-large elections); racial and social discrimination; psychological orientations (i.e. alienation, cynicism, inefficacy and some sense of powerlessness (Garcia, 1979); the non-citizen status of a significant portion of the Mexican origin population; and exclusion from conventional political organizations. The result of these factors affecting low rates of

participation has been underregistration for elections, sparse numbers of Chicanos elected or appointed to office, limited discussion of Chicano-related issues, and an absence of Chicano perspectives on policy areas.

In 1975, the extension of the Voting Rights Act was a legislative response to the recognition of Hispanics as "a linguistic minority." While the Voting Rights Act of 1965 opened up the electoral process to blacks in the South (through monitoring registration and voting), it was thought that the introduction of bi- or multi-lingualism into the electoral process would increase Mexican American participation in the voting process. Provisions include the availability of all materials related to the electoral process in the appropriate language, i.e. ballots, voter information guides, etc., in any county where more than five per cent of a linguistic minority resides; and the monitoring by the Justice Department of any change in the election process (precinct boundary changes, annexation, etc.) to prevent any harmful impact on linguistic groups.

The promise of a marked increase in Chicano political participation will be realized gradually. Gains in the numbers of new Mexican American registrants and officeholders have been slight, and those gains vary greatly across the Southwest and Midwest. Although the legislation has been enacted, the bulk of the responsibility and workload falls upon the Mexican American community to maximize the potential returns and monitor full compliance by local jurisdictions. That effort requires significant resources and organizational development.

Another consequence of cultural persistence by Mexican Americans is the development of their own organizations. Organizations such as La Raza Unida, United Farm Workers, MAPA (Mexican American Political Organization), and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund represent efforts to articulate and effect policy directions at all levels of governmental institutions. In addition, indigenous organizations, such as those previously mentioned, enable cultural values to have a significant impact on the organizations, and the advent of newer ones enlarges the potential imprint and enhances its prospects.

Politically there has been some divergence among Mexican Americans as to the focus of their political activity — national or local arenas. Pursuing a national "minority status" entails the inclusion under the hispanic umbrella of Puerto Ricans, Cubanos, and other Latin Americans and the necessity of working out coalitional arrange-

ments. Concentrating political efforts at the local level portends future political influence on a wide scale and for the present can serve to address more immediate, tangible goals. Of course, their foci are not mutually exclusive; yet, the concern lies with the availability of resources (organization, size of membership, monies, etc.) as well as the ability of political institutions to respond "quickly" to Mexican American concerns.

The cultural impact of Mexican Americans in the political arena depends on the style and ideology that Chicano activists utilize to increase access and influence within all major political and economic institutions. In addition, the greater potential lies in reshaping the policy agenda and sharpening sensitivities to the needs of the Spanish-speaking communities. In both cases, much of these efforts rest on self-definition and awareness of the Mexican American community policy needs and of the due process protections that should be accorded that group.

Multicultural Education, Policy, and Mexican Americans

Essentially, this essay has been an attempt to illustrate the cultural maintenance of Mexican Americans and how that manifests itself upon the social processes and institutions in the United States. Focusing on the area of education and political participation does point out the experiences and concerns of the Mexican American communities. Numerous other issues are of vital importance to Chicanos, such as U.S. immigration policy, police abuse, affirmative action policies, manpower programs, and plans for economic development. In each of these areas, the direct interests of Mexican Americans result from unequal treatment, cultural clash, and institutional neglect. Quite obviously, extended discussions of immigration policies and stereotyping could extend significantly the scope and length of this essay. Nevertheless, the growing presence of the Mexican American population and other Hispanics will force greater institutional attention to these concerns.

The future of cultural diversity and of the Mexican American in American society seems to be one of pain and promise. That is, cultural identity will be maintained as a result of Chicano lifestyles, proximity to Mexico, and the continuous Mexican migration to the United States. Although there has been the recognition of cultural diversity within this society, there still remains the legitimation of multiculturalism within our major institutions (economic, political, and educational). Particularly as the issue of language policies in all

facets of American life increases, the question of the appropriateness of institutionalizing multiculturalism strikes at the heart of long established American images. The promise of multiculturalism depends upon the potential of greater influence and access, in order that the resulting policy concerns receive extensive participation of cultural groups such as Mexican Americans. Affecting the national and local policy agendas is the primary step in a long process of insuring a multicultural society.

FOOTNOTES

1. The term "Chicano" will be used throughout the essay. It will be used interchangeably with Mexican American as no inherent philosophical or ideological significance is placed. Both terms serve to designate the Mexican origin population in the United States.

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THE CASE OF ROM

by Albert W. Vogel and Martin L. Berman

In Romanes, the word **Rom** means man or husband. It is also the name of one of the "Nations"[1] of Gypsies located around the world. In recent years Rom has come to be the preferred name for all Gypsies, having a significance similar to Black in the Negro Community and Chicano in the Mexican American Community. Therefore Rom will be used throughout this article.

There are about 250,000[2] Rom living in the United States. While the world population of Rom is hard to ascertain, it must number in the millions. Rom live in almost every country of the Western World, including large numbers in Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe, especially Yugoslavia, and in Latin America. Rom can be found in almost every state of the U.S., but the largest concentrations are in the cities: New York, Chicago, Fort Worth, Los Angeles, and Spokane — this does not exhaust the list. For example, there are extremely stable populations in St. Louis and Toledo, Ohio. Police records and newspaper accounts provide documentation that these families (Vitsa) in many instances have resided in these communities for upwards of forty years.

The linguistic evidence confirms that Rom came originally from India, about 1,000 years ago.[3] Their language, Romanes, is related to Hindi, and some words (**kali**, for instance, means black in both languages) are the same today. It is not known why Rom immigrated, but their history in Europe has not been a pleasant one. For the most part they have been outlawed and murdered wherever they went. Under both Henry VIII and his daughter Queen Elizabeth, Rom could be killed on sight. In Colonial America the rape of a Gypsy woman was not a punishable offense. Rom were enslaved in most of the countries of Europe and the first slaves brought to America, contrary to popular belief, were Rom. They were deposited in Louisiana, where they still form a community although they have been highly assimilated and lost their language. The persecution of Rom in Europe reached its peak under the Nazis who systematically slaughtered 500,000 Rom.[4] Eleven concentration camps were reserved for Rom and they were extensively used by the Nazis for medical experiments which were inhuman travesties of medical science. While persecution of Rom in America never reached the level of cruelty common in

Europe, many cities had ordinances which prevented Rom from "encamping" (living) within their boundaries. Many communities still have such ordinances, although they are usually not enforceable. Most large city police departments have "Gypsy Files." These files are probably unconstitutional as they presuppose that all Rom are criminals. On three occasions during 1977 and 1978, Rom were ordered out of the State of New Mexico by the State Police with the approval of the State Attorney General. It is unlikely that the Attorney General (himself a minority member) would tolerate similar unconstitutional behavior toward any other minority group.

Although Rom are a living people and a living culture, they have been stereotyped beyond recognition. Hardly a day passes that one does not hear a reference to Gypsies or Gypsy life on the radio or in common speech. Songs by Bob Dylan and Cher Bono which have capitalized on the stereotypical image of Rom have become hits and made fortunes for their authors and performers. People say they were **gyped** without realizing the source of the word. Hardly a month passes that there isn't a stereotypical reference to Gypsies on television. Currently, a film about Gypsies is a box office smash. The advertising for this film suggests that the film, based on a specific family of Gypsies, is a documentary portrayal of Rom life. Of course it isn't.[5]

The language of Rom (Romanes) has been alluded to above. This language has been extensively studied over the years, and its validity as a language and as a communicative tool has been clearly documented.[6] Rom is also a culture. In spite of popular books about "joining the Gypsies" and references to the Gypsy life, one cannot become a Gypsy anymore than one can become a Native American. Although outsiders are sometimes married into and absorbed by both groups, Rom know that they are Rom because they are born into it. Broadly speaking, there are two categories of Rom in America today. We will refer to these groups as traditional and non-traditional Rom. The first usually adhere closely to Rom traditions and speak Romanes as a first language. The second group may have some memory of the culture and the language, but probably think of themselves as middle class Americans, or descendents of Rom culture.

In addition to the language, Rom life is governed by a pattern of rules on codes known as **Merimé.**[7] The rules of **Merimé** are wide ranging and govern everything from food restrictions to sex to interpersonal behavior to relations with the outside community. Merimé is not a written code, but is learned within the family in the least

directive way imaginable. Merimé is a major source of conflict with the public schools. This point will be returned to later.

It is not clear just how "well off" financially Rom are in the United States. Historically, women have supported their families through fortune telling. In some places this can be a very lucrative occupation, elsewhere it might provide much less income. As a rule, Rom do not believe in fortune telling themselves, but see it only as a source of income. Unhappily in a society where predicting the future of the stock market is considered a legal and honorable upper class profession, fortune telling is one form of prognostication that is all too often legislated against, putting Rom on the wrong side of the law. The men tend to work at trades which have historical significance in the community. Metal working has its roots in "tinkering" and gold working. The selling of used automobiles, another occupation that Rom men tend to pursue, has its roots in horse trading. And the training of horses, pigeons, and other animals, also, has its roots in the circus and traveling shows of the past that used to be a source of income for Rom families. Most Rom in America are illiterate, and this, of course, greatly influences their money making abilities. Generally, however, in spite of a certain amount of poverty among Rom, most manage to support themselves fairly well. Rom understand the basic principles of nutrition and eat well. They have long since abandoned folk medicine and unlike many other minority cultural groups have been able to manipulate to their advantage and make good use of the professional medical system in this country. The rules of merimé require cleanliness in the home and of the person. And sexual promiscuity is controlled through the influences of the extended family.

Historically, Rom have made few demands upon any society in which they find themselves. A typical family would wish only to be secure in its person and property, be able to move freely and safely, be able to raise their children in the culture, and to see their children decently housed and adequately nourished.

Unlike other minority groups in the United States and elsewhere, Rom have not demanded their share of the economy, political representation, nor for that matter, have they demanded better schooling. In fact, most traditional families would prefer that their children did not attend school and learn things beyond their culture. Even the written word is looked upon with anxiety by Rom, and many see virtue in not being able to read and write.

Given their way, the Rom would prefer to be invisible and they

couldn't care less whether their children become corporation presidents, United States senators, or generals in the army. This attitude has not only set Rom aside from other minority movements but also made any kind of organized effort on their part quite difficult; further, this indifference of traditional Rom to mainstream ambitions and expectations poses yet another point of conflict between this group and the schools. Some younger Rom, however, feel that they should protest more and organize themselves against the violations of their civil rights, but most Rom would rather turn their backs on troubles from the outside and go away from, rather than confront their social problems.

Pilot projects in Spokane, Washington and Chicago, Illinois have attempted to bring Rom children into the schools. While the children learn readily enough, there is still a great deal of fear among parents and relatives. The implications of Merimé, the unwritten code which governs the conduct of the traditional Rom, for such educational projects pose serious problems for the Rom children involved; problems, in many instances, that the schools are unaware of. For instance, it is probably safe to say that everything about a school cafeteria is Merimé to a Rom child or in other words the cafeteria experience which has become a common part of schooling in America for this child is fraught with cultural inhibitions. The idea that food can be prepared by strangers, placed on plates that might have been used by anyone previously and eaten with strangers is shocking to Rom. Many Rom keep special plates at home for **Gajae** (non Rom). In one west coast school, the principal recorded that the "Gypsy kids" frequently got sick after eating in the cafeteria. The principal attributed this to his guess that they weren't used to nutritious food. Actually the opposite was the case. They were revolted by the cafeteria practices which violated an important aspect of the culture. Similar experiences have been recorded among Orthodox Jewish children.

School restrooms present another difficulty. The values of caravan life were such that toilet cleanliness was of extreme importance. One simply did not perform toilet functions anywhere near the wagons. While Rom no longer live in wagons, the memory of cleanliness is still strong in the culture and strict proscriptions regarding such ablutions are still observed. Toilet functions are never discussed in the Rom family, and children are toilet trained (with no apparent ill effect) as early as possible. In one community in California four families living close to one another in four separate houses, rented a fifth house and used only the toilet.[5] While this may provide an almost archetypal example of this aspect of Merimé, it also serves to illustrate

the acute embarrassment Rom suffer from when these eliminatory functions are openly acknowledged: i.e., a Rom man or woman would rather die than get up in the middle of a conversation to go to the toilet. One need only imagine the typical public school boy's or girl's room to realize the consternation and revulsion that the young Rom experience.

The schools pose other areas of cultural conflict for Rom youth. Sex education, school dances and locker rooms, are only but a few of highly charged conflict areas to which the schools in the main have been insensitive. When Rom children do attend school, it is not unusual for their parents to walk by and look at the school several times a day as if to reassure themselves that their children are well.

As previously suggested, Rom children receive very little directed teaching at home. Children learn the values of the culture and the skills of the family trade by watching and listening to the parents. Rarely are they instructed. One Rom mother related to one of the authors that she thought American teachers talked too much: "They are always telling children, do this, do that." It is a style of instruction neither the parents nor the children understand. Obviously, educators are going to have to learn a lot more about Rom children and their life if they expect Rom to come willingly to the schools. Even so, many school administrators may feel "we have too damn many minorities already."

Sporadically Rom families are waking up to the realization that if they are to hold their own in American society, they must learn to read and write and to otherwise improve their educational backgrounds. How the one can be accomplished without removing children altogether from Rom culture is the question being faced by them and on a larger scale by almost every other minority group which seeks to perserve its cultural identity. The pilot project in Spokane, Washington attempted to meet some of these challenges by employing Rom women as teaching aids. These women could talk to the children in their own language when necessary, and they were alert to the areas of cultural conflict. Employing native speaking teaching aids would seem to be a step in the right direction. For not only are the children made more comfortable in the school, but also the parents feel more secure knowing that someone in the school is sensitive to the needs and special problems of their children. Using native speakers and intimates of the culture as aids, perhaps, satisfies the often neglected cultural component of the bilingual educational mode in a comprehensive fashion.

Possibly the greatest area of concern to educators is the enormous amount of stereotypical material concerning the Rom that has found its way into the daily lives of Americans. Teachers are going to have to become sensitive to this negative material[9] and to eliminate it from their classroom as they have eliminated other blatantly racist and sexist material. It is unlikely that teachers around the country will ever become experts on Rom language and culture. Educators could, however, be more conscious and critical of the shibboleths about Rom and more sensitive to the complexities and richness of Rom culture. There are reliable materials available in print and teachers could learn the main outlines of Rom culture. They might also recognize that Rom children speak a language as valid and expressive as the other languages spoken in the U.S., and it is a genuine vehicle of communication among them. One teacher interviewed by one of the authors was disappointed that the Rom children in her classroom did not speak Spanish — a language she understood. Other teachers expect Rom to speak Hungarian. In fact, people generally expect and want Rom to speak any language except their own, **Romanes.**

At the present time there are very few places in the United States where one can seriously study Romanes or Rom culture. Professor Ian Hancock teaches Romanes at the University of Texas, but he is one of a very few. The U.S. Government (which recognized Rom as a non-white minority in 1972) has not been particularly forthcoming where Rom are concerned. No doubt the bureaucrats in Washington prefer to direct their attention toward the more vociferous minorities. 250,000 is not a large group as minorities go, but size should not be the only indicator of a culture's worthiness nor should it stand in the way of further studying and preserving Rom culture.

It is likely that Rom culture will survive — assuming that pluralism as a societal idea and minorities will be permitted to survive in the world at all. World wide the picture is very confused. The Soviet Union has apparently commenced a program of assimilation of Rom as well as other minority groups. On the other hand, more books in Romanes are published in the Soviet Union than any other country in the world. West Germany has been reluctant to admit the existence of Rom, and sympathetic parties there have instituted suits designed to force the West German government to compensate Rom who survived the World War II death camps. In Sweden there has been violence between Rom and the general culture. Most of the countries of Eastern Europe seem to be following the lead of the Soviet Union and are attempting to force the assimilation of Rom. Yugoslavia is the one exception. In France, an association (**Komitia Lamiati**

Romani) for a number of years outlawed, has been revived for the purpose of defending the rights of Rom. In most Latin American countries, Chile is typical, Rom are at the very bottom of the social and economic heap. In Great Britain, however, Rom have organized themselves more strongly than anywhere else and have been asserting their rights against an increasingly hostile political environment. Many Rom still travel and camp in Great Britain and legislation has been enacted which would guarantee the right of Rom to camp in certain areas.[10] This legislation has met with a great deal of resistence on the part of local communities. In the United States the policy would seem to be to ignore Rom whenever possible. The government has been reluctant to identify Rom in the census data prefering to list Rom by country of birth. Rom for their part have been reluctant to indicate that they are Rom or that their language is Romanes because they are suspicious of the government. When the authors asked one local school official whether there were any Rom children in the district, they were given a negative reply. The authors, however, were able to discover at least 12 children at that time within the district who were not attending school. The school district and other districts around the country would rather ignore Rom than face the difficult task of educating them.

The overriding question facing Rom now is one of survival. Are they going to be an invisible minority on the one hand, or an assimilated curiosity on the other. Or perhaps there is another alternative — one which permits them to preserve their language and culture, and yet permit them to acquire the intellectual skills necessary for economic fulfillment and legal defense in the modern world. Ultimately, the answer must come from the Rom community itself. The schools, for their part, should stand ready to aid Rom children in what ever way that community feels it must go.

NOTES

1. Many studies use the word "tribe," but "nation" is closer to the *Romanes* meaning.

2. This is the figure accepted by the most reliable writers.

3. Additional information on the history of Rom Culture may be found in Bart McDowell, *Gypsies, Wanderers of the World*, The National Geographic Society, Washington, D.C., 1970. This is a good introductory study for the general reader.

4. Cf. Donald Kenrich, Gratton Puxon, *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies*, Basic Books Inc., New York, 1972.

5. *The King of the Gypsies*, 1978. There is no Gypsy king, although as in most families, the eldest man or woman may occupy a special position of honor.

6. Ian Hancock at the University of Texas, Austin, has studied and published on this subject.

7. Cf. Anne Sutherland, *Gypsies, The Hidden Americans*, The Free Press, New York, 1975, for extended discussions of *Merimé*. This is also a very readable book on Rom life in America.

8. Cf. Sutherland, *op. cit.* pp. 254-87, discusses this and other matters pertaining to cleanliness.

9. Cf. *Interracial Digest.* The Council on Interracial Books for Children (CIBC), No. 1, New York, pp. 14-18.

10. Cf. Barbara Adams. et. al.. *Gypsies and Government Policy in England.* Heinemann, Fardor, 1975.

THE CASE OF WOMEN

by Ann S. Nihlen

This essay is about women, their history, and hopes. Of course, women represent one half of each group discussed elsewhere in this publication. It is necessary, however, and important at times, to look at women separately and to examine their commonality as persons discriminated against because they are female. What I wish to do in this essay is to raise some questions concerning the nature of sexist discrimination, give a brief history of women's place in education, and talk about the present state of education as it concerns women.

Who are women and what do they do?

Women work in the home, bear and rear children, clean, buy and prepare food, nurture the man and children. Men work outside the home in wage labor during parts of the day, and return to be fed, given clean clothing, nurtured. In increasing numbers, women also work outside the home at wage labor. But they also have done and continue to do the work in the home. So when we speak of women in the work force or in education we are talking about people with two jobs. It is important to keep this fact in mind as we discuss the various issues women have raised in the last 10 to 100 years.

As a group, women are paid less than men for equal work, they earn approximately 56% of what men earn for the same job. Presently 35.8 million women work outside their home for wages. This is over two-fifths of the total work force as of 1974. Of this total number, 21 million of those women are presently married. The other 14.8 million have never been married, are divorced, separated, or widowed.[1] Over 6½ million mothers who work have children between the ages of 6-17, and almost 4 million more working mothers have at least one child under the age of 6.[2]

Approximately six million children under six require daycare because their mothers work. There are places for only one million children in fairly expensive, organized babysitting and daycare situations in this country, which means that five million children are with friends, family and older children.[3] What these numbers do not show, however, is the expensive time-consuming process whereby mothers not only work for wages, but come home to a second job nightly, and have the added expense of childcare and the added burden of finding

good people to care for their children. It is a series of overwhelming responsibilities that women have, and most do not even recognize their multiple tasks, or credit their own administrative skills for such juggling and management.

Lastly, women with a college degree earn less than, or the same as a man with a high school diploma.[1] What good is education to a woman if after all those years of schooling she cannot even support herself and/or her family adequately? To have an education mean so little serves as fair warning to girls and women that college is not necessarily a rewarding place to go. It is obvious from the above that women do have common demands based on common discrimination: the demand for equal pay for equal work, so that the percentage of women below the poverty level can rise to equality with men; the demand for good, inexpensive, ample care for all children; the demand that women with educations equal to men be paid and promoted equally.

As a group women have common problems and situations. However, within this group we see tremendous diversity through cultural, class and racial differences. Married women are upper class, middle class and working class; single women are more often than not working class in income. Women who are Black, Latin American, Chicana, Native American, and Asian have additional burdens as minorities: they are paid less than white women; they are treated in schools as less intelligent than white girls; they are considered experimental objects in health care, and their political voices are only now gaining credibility in their own communities and in the women's movement, let alone in the general society.

Despite these large differences, white women and minority women do have issues and demands in common, based on our common needs and oppression. The vastly different approaches to life and society's approach to different kinds of women means women have no one line, and often no united front. The building of coalitions for common demands is a mark of women in the 1970's, along with a recognition of differences and past discriminations.

The demands that women are making today are based on a recognition of the underlying causes of discrimination or sexism. In this essay sexism is a concept defined as: (1) a belief that the human sexes have a distinctive makeup that determines their respective lives, usually involving the idea that one sex is superior and has the right to use the other; (2) a policy of enforcing such asserted right; (3) a

system of government and society based upon it.[5] Sex stereotyping is related to sexism and is the process whereby people are made to believe that certain behaviors, roles, beliefs, actions, belong uniquely to their sex.

The underlying causes of sexism are fundamental and controversial. For the purposes of this essay we will say that this economic and political structure is dependent upon keeping people in various jobs to maintain the free-enterprise system. For example, it needs to pay people low wages in some industries and occupations in order to make enough profit for other people. Now in this society it is arbitrarily decided that white males are the favored workers and so will be paid the most. And it is arbitrarily decided that minority men and women, and white women, are not worth as much as white men, and so they can be paid less, and always provide a pool of labor to do the less interesting, low status, and dirtiest jobs. This is a system of economics built like a pyramid with some people at the bottom, and some at the top. It is based on the historical view in this society that women truly are not equal to men. This assumption is particularly harmful to women as well as men since we are given life scripts at birth, based on gender, race and class, not on any potential we might have shown had we been given a clean slate to build on as infants.

The Women's Movement has challenged stereotypic views which assume women's inequality, claiming that such views negate an analysis of history, psychology, economics, and our own field of education. These views refuse to see the damage to children that these stereotypes perpetuate. They deny the full potential of persons that society will never tap. What women are saying today is that we can ill afford to continue tracking humans from birth to death solely on the basis of gender and sex identity. Biology gives women the mechanism to bear children, not the necessity. History, not biology, has made women better at some areas of work than men and less skillful in other areas. In this 20th century, technologically advanced world, women are still treated with cave man assumptions of biological determinism.

Today, many women and some men want to create a society where we are all treated equally and children are loved and cared for properly; where women can choose to have children and men can choose to be nurturing parents, friends, lovers; where quality daycare is the right of every parent, child, society; where women who must or want to work are paid equally for a job; where men can be homemakers, or men and women can share the responsibility. The ideal is a place where race and sex would be attributes of cultural diversity, not

excuses for genocide and discrimination. There the melting pot philosophy gives way to respect for pluralism; sexism gives way to equality. These are the aspirations many women are fighting for now. Idealistic and over-confident as these ideals seem, it is important to elaborate on them as we work for more concrete reforms today.

The attacks on the institutions of society by women and minorities that we have witnessed in the last fifteen years have often focused on education. Most of us, on both sides of the barricades, have understood the fundamental nature of education's role with regard to society's ills; at times, however, we have not seen as clearly society's role in the forming of educational policy. In the case of women the inter-relationship between society and education is perhaps clearer than in other cases.

Women and Education

The issue of sexism in education has a long historic basis and is firmly rooted in the traditions of education. Our system of education, like most, evolved from the needs and demands of the society it serves. Today it represents the morals and desires of that society, as well as the economic necessities. Since our society only now is beginning to believe in the equalness of women, we cannot expect the educational structures it builds to be a bastion of equality for women. They have not been, and they are not so today.

Historically, women were not considered when the rudiments of education were discussed. In the United States in the 1700's, over ninety-five per cent of women were illiterate and could not cipher.[6]

In the late 1700's and early 1800's, society believed that white women should learn to read to better understand the Bible and teach their children to be godfearing. So women began their educational histories with the same purpose as they would continue them for some time: to become educated so as to better serve family and teach children; to be educated to be better mothers, wives and keepers of morality. Black women as slaves were forbidden to be educated, as it was with their men. Chicanas and Native American women, fluent in their own languages, were considered by whites unimportant and uneducable.

In the early 1800's, Dame schools were organized in local neighborhoods where a semi-schooled woman would teach the rudiments of reading, writing and ciphering to both boys and girls. Later, girls

were permitted to attend the elementary schools then being established in the northeast. By 1821, the first female seminary was established in Troy, New York, by Emma Willard. Primarily for the middle class, and therefore white, female population, it offered the first formal training beyond sixth grade for young women. Out of this "seminary movement" of the 1800's came many women teachers, and the tradition began that teaching was a good and socially acceptable career for women. It was also a low-paying job and women made approximately one-half to two-thirds what men made at the same job. Today women still earn less than men.

During this time minority women and men were still not, for the most part, receiving the benefits of education. In New Mexico and the Southwest, the upper-class Spanish population educated their sons through the auspices of the Catholic Church. In the South, slaves were beaten and sold away for learning to read and write, and whites were jailed for teaching slaves these skills.

After the Civil War, a series of Freedman's schools were established throughout the South and over 9,000 White and Black teachers came South or walked across town to teach in these newly formed schools. Forty-five per cent of these teachers were women and they taught in these early schools and continued to fill the needs until Reconstruction.[7] In the South, at that time, boys and girls were often educated together, as were blacks and whites.

By the late 1800's a system of compulsory education for boys and girls had been established through the elementary school years. More and more, women were becoming teachers of the earlier grades, and men were moved up as the high school and university teachers. In addition, as administrative jobs became available, men filled these more prestigious posts, not women. So today we have a system of educating children with fairly long historically-bound traditions of discrimination against women.

In the area of curriculum, we have the classic readers to show us how the sexist stereotypes of men and women were upheld in the educational system. The same holds true for mathematics books, vocational training, and athletics. The educational system of the 1800's and 1900's clearly reflected the values of the society which fostered it. As society slowly changed, education modified itself to conform. In addition, pioneers in education speeded up that modification and often initiated changes in the system which preceded society's movement.

The problems confronting women today in the educational system do not differ markedly from those of the past; however, society as a whole has become more cognizant of discrimination. The minorities have led the way in analyzing the effects of discrimination on children and their potential as adults, and the Women's Movement adopted many ideas and strategies from them. The problems fall into two main areas: one, the roles of men and women as teachers and educators, and the differential status given each sex; and two, the content of the education given children in the school. Sexism is especially evident in the following specific areas: curriculum, athletics, testing and counseling, school personnel, and attitudes. I will go into some detail as each area applies to Kindergarten to 12th grade, and then focus on a few areas within the universities. (There is an increasing body of written documentation that the reader is encouraged to read. A selected bibliography follows this essay.)

Curriculum is probably the easiest place to see the sexism that pervades the school environment. As a child learns to read she/he is assaulted with sex stereotypes of what boys and girls should do and cannot do. In a now famous pamphlet called "Dick and Jane as Victims", the authors catalog hundreds of examples of Dick as strong, aggressive, assertive and verbal in his disparagement of girls. Jane, on the other hand, is passive, quiet, acquiescing.[8] Even the pictures in these early readers reinforce these images. Jane is constantly lounging around with hands literally behind her back, or folded in front of her. And her mother is almost always facing the sink, the ironing board, the dusting chores — never facing forward to the reader. Dick is in constant motion, in contrast; fixing a toy for Jane, working on an invented engine, climbing trees, fences, hills, beanpoles. What do these images tell us, and more importantly, what do these images convey to the children who are learning to read? Research has determined that children take quite seriously these messages of correct sex role behavior. The written word reinforces the assumptions of sex stereotypic behaviors and the children assume the burden of performance.

Another series of examples comes from the mathematics problems and workbooks. Girls in these books measure for recipes and curtains. Boys measure the world and invent new things for it; they measure gasoline, cement, and wood for houses. So, in this area also both boys and girls learn to do math, but boys learn who they are in the world and what is expected of them out there, and girls learn about the home and what is expected of them there.

In both reading and math, as children learn the fundamental

intellectual skills that they will need as adults, they are also learning the rigid sex role behaviors they will be expected to exhibit as adults. No room is left for the diversity of personalities and roles that many adults could and do perform.

Sexist curricula in the higher grades still portray men and women in stereotypic ways, but another element emerges, and that is absence. As children begin to read history and literature, women are not discussed. It is as though they had not been in existence for hundreds of years at a time, only emerging periodically to stand beside a president/husband or wave a flag during war, or act in unladylike fashion to demand the vote and then disappear again. Women have fought in every major struggle in this country, they helped settle this land, they built homes, farmed, worked the factories, reared generations of children, as well as creatively wrote, painted, sculpted and quilted. Their omission from the history and literature texts is unforgivable and clearly tells children who is important, and what is important in this society.

Women and minorities must be put into our standard history, literature, and civilization texts in order that we may begin to recreate a pluralistic history of real men and women. Children need to have a sense of who they really are and where they came from that is accurate. What purpose does it serve to keep women out of the books from which our students learn?

The amazing aspect of this problem with curriculum is that many people either fail to recognize the harm these stereotypes do to children, or they refuse to recognize that any stereotyping is going on that could be harmful to children. Even when some publishers of major textbooks begin to be cognizant of sexism and racism and incorporate these concepts into their texts, most school districts and state boards of education are refusing to incorporate these new texts into the schools. Education thus is failing at this top administrative level to recognize and deal with sexism and sex stereotyping in their texts and workbooks. It has been my experience that teachers often have a better understanding of this problem than most administraors, but they are usually powerless to effect change at these higher levels.

In athletics sex stereotyping begins in elementary school and continues through high school and into college. From the first grade girls often are still reminded to stay clean, and not to run in dresses. Their sports are gentler with fewer active, large muscle activities to strengthen and develop muscles. Team spirit is seldom promoted as an

aspect of sport. Boys, on the other hand, are encouraged to play hard and fast, their sports involve lots of large muscle activity to strengthen and develop muscles and develop coordination. Team spirit and consciousness is seriously promoted. These difference between the sexes encourage the already pervasive concept amongst the children that girls can neither do as much nor do it as well as boys. Their training already is restraining their physical activity. When they come in off the playground hot and sweating they are reminded that little girls shouldn't play so hard; when boys come in the same way their damp smells are taken for granted. Boys who prefer to sit quietly during recess with a book or a friend, or swing gently on the swings are considered ill or needing encouragement to get out there and play rough. As this sexism in athletics represses and discourages girls from active phyical activity; it demands that all boys participate in it. Both stereotypes hinder children but as a worker in elementary schools I have seen the roughhousing of girls when given a chance and mourn that it is not channeled constructively into organized sports.

It is important to note here that there has been real improvement in the field of athletics since the implementation of Title IX. Title IX, a law to guarantee equality of opportunity for women in education, specifically in such areas as athletics, has helped increase budgets for female team sports in high school and college, and has promoted equal sports events and skill development in the elementary schools. For instance, in fitness testing in physical education classes the criteria for boys and girls have always been different for each sex; pushups were abbreviated for girls from the full toe pushup required of boys; chinups for boys meant literally lifting your body and making sure your chin reached above the bar, for girls it meant only flexing the arms and raising your body a small degree. These tests meant that girls did not develop their muscles and by the time they reached college a lot of damage had been done physically as well as psychologically. Today most unequal tests are illegal and girls are learning the full potential of their bodies.

As children enter middle school, junior high and high school one more area becomes prominent in reinforcing sex stereotyping. This is the area of counseling and testing. The expectations and sex stereotype attitudes of the schools influence the counselors in their recommendations for future jobs, skills and educational needs of the young men and women who come to them for advice. Known for supporting the schools in racist assumptions and classist tracking, they have in addition always considered the sex of an individual a prime categorizing tool. This is harmful and destructive to these young adults and to

a society that needs its young people. That so little has been done to change this inequity (and what little has been done has been met with strong resistance) is an indicator of how threatening change is. However, changes in the area of counseling and in the attitudes of counselors must occur for meaningful change to occur and be effective elsewhere in education, for children to go to college and major in fields of their competence, for tracking to diminish in the high schools, and for students to be permitted to experiment and try new, traditionally sex-stereotyped skill areas.

Because we live in a sexist society it is inevitable and understandable that teachers and other school personnel are themselves sexist and guilty of sex stereotyping. What becomes important then is to work on this basic level for a change of attitude. Through workshops and classes a better understanding of the harmful nature and effect of sexism in the schools can emerge. However, in teaching such classes over the years I am discouraged by how few policymakers even attend such a course. It is much more difficult to make changes in your attitude and way of running a class when one gets little or no support from the principal or superintendent. And many administrators are adverse to recognizing and dealing with the problem of sexism. So teachers as the primary unit of change in the classrooms are not encouraged to work on these changes and many do not.

From past research we know that teacher expectations in the classroom greatly affect the performance of students. Teacher attitudes and expectations affect children daily and help form their self-concept as it relates to intellectual as well as social skills. Thus, girls learn that they do not do hard physical exercise, that being too smart is laughable, that boys and girls are best segregated, that in their books girls and women are passive, non-obtrusive, underachievers concerned exclusively with household chores. Boys learn that they must do lots of physical things, the harder the better, that segregation is necessary between the sexes, that in their books boys are doing everything all the time and that boys and men are achievers, protectors, movers in the world scene. These stereotypes have little to with real boys and girls, but they are what we are teaching children daily in today's schools.

In the area of school personnel in kindergarten through twelfth grade, girls and boys see the historic pattern of male domination in jobs of power. They see women as elementary school teachers and sometimes as high school teachers. They see men as high school teachers, principals of elementary and high schools, superintendents,

and school board leaders. They are given a clear message of who leads, and who follows. No one needs to point it out to them; when the authority speaks, that voice is male.

Problems and Solutions in Higher Education

Despite the obviousness of some of these problems, Colleges of Education have not taken strong leadership to solve them. Departments of School Administration are only now beginning to focus on the needs and skills of women and to recognize that a long process of upgrading women and their administrative skills is necessary before they can break the barriers against their sex and race in the school systems of this country.

I have often been told that women have little problem getting into college and that nationally they represent half of the freshman classes today. I knew that this was exaggerated but also recognized that although women are entering college in increasing numbers, they are not staying. I looked at the retention rate and the number of women graduating with B.A. degrees and a picture emerged that varied from the freshman class. Women earned thirty-nine per cent of the baccalaureate degrees and only thirteen per cent of the Ph.Ds.[9] Something happens to women during college which drastically decreases their numbers. These discouraging statistics, lower than in the early 1900's when we graduated a larger percentage of women as compared to men, indicate that women are not encouraged or supported in their higher education. The brainwashing against women's intellectual powers which began in elementary school takes its toll as women rise in education. And it must be remembered that higher education is still mostly for the middle class and male white population.

What needs to be done to encourage women to try for higher education, and to keep them there once they arrive? First, the brainwashing of earlier education must cease so that psychologically these women arrive at college ready to work, and feeling that they have a chance at success. Their self-concept must not have been eroded or crushed. Once they arrive in college they need their share of grants and scholarships, instead of the usual loans which must be repaid. Nationally, women receive $518 to the $760 that men receive. Many scholarships are for men only, or men are considered more seriously than women as in the case of the White House Fellows, or Fulbright Scholarships where only 10% are women. Lastly, most federal and state monies are only for full-time students, a criterion many married women students cannot meet.[10]

The universities must recognize that women have responsibilities for rearing our future generations and for households and often cannot attend school full time. Their commitment to education is equal to that of full-time students and the hardships are often greater, but they cannot be on campus as much. Time tables for completion of work for undergraduate and graduate students must reflect consideration of this problem.

The returning student is the fastest growing category of student within universities nationally, and women are a large number of this group. Graduate schools must adjust their vision away from the traditional twenty-five year old Ph.D. candidate, and recognize this older reserve of talent that is applying to school. Night classes must be increased, variable hours per semester for serious students must be instituted. These recognitions of the real life of the present-day student will not lower the quality of education dispensed but will increase the diversity and richness of the professionals we produce. It will also help to break down the barriers between schools and the women and minorities they are beginning to recognize they must serve.

Childcare centers must be made available to student parents so they can have quality and inexpensive care for their children while they are in class and in the library. Many such centers have been established, mostly as cooperative nurseries. Childcare in the university is a recognition of the reality of women and is a clear statement of support and belief in their potential as students.

Colleges of Education must shift their priorities to include the other half of the world — women. As graduate enrollments in education decline and we produce fewer professionals in the field, women must be an increasing number of those trained. Recruitment, special programs for and about women, retention studies, equitable funding, child care on campus — these must become integral parts of undergraduate and graduate programs for students. A national priority for women in federal and state agencies concerned with education must begin. Along with this general concern for women must be the constant recognition that women are not only middle class and white, but minority and working class as well.

The most perplexing question each of us was asked to address in these essays concerned the future prospects for women and minorities in American society. As a group, women are obviously indispensible and will remain so. However, how we live side-by-side with men will depend on the many factors discussed in this essay. The underlying

nature of sexism in this society treats women as inferiors in all areas except child bearing and housekeeping. And this system allows some women to pass through with little overt or recognizable discrimination so that she or others can then say, "See, sexism must not really exist because she made it." And women can blame themselves rather than recognizing the role of society in their life. However, for the majority of women, regardless of class, race or sexual orientation, sexism means less money, less education, less opportunity, and more doubt about their potential.

For men sexism means something else entirely, and it is important to recognize these differences. First, men profit from sexism. They get more money, more education, more opportunity, and more free time, since their home needs are totally taken care of. But their doubt is of a different nature, I suspect. And they have an equally clear and rigid definition of what a man is and how he must behave. Men must learn that they also are hurt by sexism and sex stereotypes. To work for change means giving up privilege won at the expense of women. It means taking responsibility for one's actions against others.

Both men and women must begin to move against sexism for themselves, and for their children. As educators we have an important role in breaking down sex stereotypic behaviors in our classrooms and demanding that the materials used in our schools give everyone an equal chance, regardless of sex, race and class. That is the cultural pluralism that I would like to see happen in the United States today, and that would guarantee a better life for all women — and all men as well.

FOOTNOTES

1. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. *Working Women: A Chartbook*, 1975, Bulletin 1880.
2. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Special Labor Force Report 198*, March, 1975.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Nancy Frazier and Myra Sadker, *Sexism in Schools and Society*, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1973).
6. *Patricia Sexton, Women and Education*, (Bloomington. Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976).
7. Gerda Lerner, ed. *Black Women in White America*, (New York: Random House Press, Inc., April, 1972) p. 93-94.
8. *Women on Words and Images*, Dick and Jane as Victims (Princeton, New Jersey), 1972.
9. Nancy Frazier and Myra Sadker, *Loc. cit.*
10. Patricia Sexton, *Women and Education, Loc. cit.*

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TOWARD CULTURAL PLURALISM IN EDUCATION: SOME CAVEATS

by Thomas R. Lopez, Jr.

A great deal has been written in recent years on "cultural pluralism" in American life. Almost all of the literature on American minority groups has focused on problems associated with poverty and social disadvantage. That is understandably and properly so. Without intending to minimize in any way the social problems that members of minority groups encounter in this country or to divert attention away from those conditions, it should be noted that relatively little has been written about middle class minority Americans and their special problems. That is especially the case for middle class Hispanic Americans — the minority within a minority — except for references in the press to the notable achievements of the Cuban refugees in Florida.

In the case of Mexican Americans specifically, the problem of stereotyping Mexican Americans, or Chicanos, by other Americans shows little sign of abatement, despite the crushing weight of the books and articles on that subject, and despite the likelihood that Mexican Americans are the most heterogeneous of all American minority groups.[1] The prevalent national image of the Mexican American, particularly outside the Southwest, seems to be that of migratory rural laborer. The fact of the matter is that less than ten per cent of employed Mexican American men are farm workers, and the migratory farm population among them constitutes an even smaller proportion.

That stereotyped image of Mexican Americans is especially strong in Northwest Ohio. Thousands of migrant farm laborers are hired each year in Northwest Ohio and lower Michigan in the cultivation of sugar beets, tomatoes, and other produce. The great majority of those migrant farm workers are Mexican Americans from South Texas. Yet there is a permanent Mexican American population in the area. According to U.S. census data the Mexican American population within the ten counties of Northwest Ohio grew from only a few families in 1940 to about 35,000 in 1974, most of whom "settled out" after only a few years in the migrant stream. About one third of those families lived in Toledo, and another quarter lived in surrounding towns.[2] Given that background, the prevalent local image of the Mexican American as a rural migratory farm worker (or recently

"settled out") is not surprising; but from a national viewpoint, millions of Mexican Americans — the great majority, in fact — live and work in major urban centers of the United States. Nonetheless, the middle class Hispanic (occasionally including Cubans and other Latin Americans) is not spared the frequently manifested assumption that his background is one of migratory farm labor. The assumption that such must be the case may be analagous to the widespread assumption in the instance of Jews that all are displaced New Yorkers or are "in business." For many Americans, evidently it is still harder to believe that a Mexican American might come from a middle class family than it is to believe that he comes from either an elegant, aristocratic family or a migrant farm labor family.

The fact that there is a sizable Mexican American population as far east as Toledo in itself frequently comes as a surprise to some Southwesterners. The Mexican American population in Northwest Ohio is continuing to grow as a result of the high birth rate among the Mexican American population and the continuation of the "settling out" process among those in the migrant stream. Already the great majority of Mexican Americans in Northwest Ohio were born in Ohio, and their Texas ties are waning.

Social disadvantage is, of course, a relative matter, and the discussion here should not suggest that there are not serious prolems confronted by Mexican Americans and other minorities in Northwest Ohio. But it should be pointed out that although the Mexican Americans of Northwest Ohio could hardly be called the Bourgeoisie of the area, the move from South Texas to Northwest Ohio has resulted, for the most part, in substantial economic improvement in their lives.

Among many adult Mexican Americans in Toledo, South Texas (The Valley) or more generally the Southwest for La Raza serves as a romantic cultural reference, a homeland (Aztlan?) in a manner that seems to be widespread, but at the same time, there appears to be no great stampede to Texas; indeed, for many young people, Texas is as remote and strange as it is to any other person in Ohio.[3] Palatalized, nasalized Toledo æ sounds (sometimes combined with sounds distinctly Texan) can be heard in abundance among Toledo Mexican American teenagers; and if the local newspaper is any guide, many are marrying "Anglo" spouses or those of eastern European descent.

The Mexican American population often is referred to as "Spanish speaking" or a "Spanish language" population.[4] Despite the historical recency of the arrival of the Mexican Americans in Northwest

Ohio, already there seems to be a significant number of young Mexican Americans who are monolingual in English. Resistance or opposition to bilingual education programs for elementary school children in Toledo has come as much from Mexican American parents as from any other; but mostly there seems to be a monumental lack of interest on their part in the entire matter.[5] As far as ethnic studies are concerned, "upwardly mobile" or middle class Mexican American students, including those at the University, do not seem generally to be any more interested than any other students; indeed, the opposite is often the case, i.e. they are the least interested. Perhaps the expectation that they should be is unrealistic and unfair. And it is doubtful that any of this is unique to Toledo.

The matter of "bilingual" education and "bilingualism" is directly pertinent to the middle class Hispanic. It is almost a sociologic truism that the poor and the rich have always been bilingual. Much of the literature in bilingual education and linguistics reflects to the intensity of Spanish "language loyalty" among Mexican Americans, even among those Mexican Americans whose families have lived in what is now the United States for many generations. And the common expectation of Mexican Americans is that they can/do speak Spanish. But the expression "Spanish-speaking" to refer to Mexican Americans under some circumstances may be a euphemism as much as a description, or maybe only a hope. Reliable numbers are not available, but it is not unusual at all in urban areas throughout the Southwest — and certainly outside the Southwest — to find Mexican Americans, including middle class Mexican Americans, whose first language is English and who do not speak Spanish. They do not speak Spanish because they were not taught Spanish as children, or they didn't learn Spanish as a second language. Not infrequently, that is the case for the same reasons that many other Americans do not learn a second language — absence of need, lack of will, or lack of opportunity. Bilingualism, i.e. the ability to read and write two languages, is, of course, best represented as a continuum, (or a complex of continuums); but **presumed** bilingual abilities in countless cases strains the meaning of the term to the point of rupture. Yet, the image of the bilingual Spanish-surnamed monolith persists irrespective of other considerations. It seems to always come as a surprise for many that learning a second language, including Spanish, is not any easier for Mexican Americans than it is for anybody else. But this does not seem to be the time in history to examine that too closely, particularly for political purposes or for government jobs, projects, and grants.

The University sometimes provides a variation of the same theme

for the Hispanic Academic. Depending on his field, the location, and the circumstances, he is typically expected to serve as a Role Model, whether he wants to be or not. It is hard to imagine who, other than megalomaniacs or masochists, would **welcome** that opportunity or burden. And no matter what his field, no matter what his professional interests, no matter what his family background (and irrespective of his personal beliefs), he is typically regarded as the Expert on Matters Hispanic. That includes lingustics, language, sociology, social psychology, bilingual education, history, and anthropology. That is not all that mysterious a phenemonon, but it does place a special burden on the individual. If he is not the Expert, he is often The Symbol. Frequently students in search of their own identities or those in revolt against the Bourgeoisie, Americana, or Ohio expect their Mexican American professor to personify Things Latin, something different or exotic. In classes dealing with American Minority groups, it is common for the "Anglos" to outnumber the minority students; and frequently the students most interested in studying so called "Mexican American Problems" are Jewish and Black students who are willing to study the oppressed Hispanics, but who can't bring themselves to confront their own identities by first studying the groups from which they originate. Perhaps it is only human to defer the hard problems. The male Jewish college professor in many recent academic novels suffers the same fate. A recurring theme is the burden of playing the role of Exotic to disaffected middle class WASPs.

The Hispanic Academic occasionally serves as a Special Symbol, a personal rallying point, for the Department Liberal (who, more often than not, is a WASP). He seems to think that his special mission is to instruct middle class minority students and the few minority colleagues on WASP treachery and to serve as a living, breathing exhibit of sorrow for the Minorities. He especially feels compelled to continually remind minority students and colleagues of **their** "Responsibilities" to their "respective peoples." He can be counted on to dutifully provide vehement, sometimes eloquent, condemnation of racism and sexism, at least in the abstract. But in a specific case of injustice or in a confrontation, he can be relied upon for precious little more than passionate rhetorical support offered at a safe distance.

Much of what is attributed to Hispanic or Mexican "Culture" is as much Roman Catholic as it is anything else. The stereotype of the Catholic Hispanic is so ingrained in the national character that not a few American experience incredulity (at least mild amazement) when they encounter a Mexican American Baptist, Mormon, Jehovah's

Witness, or Presbyterian. Yet, in central and long isolated northern New Mexico where Hispanic presence dates back to the sixteenth century and which is often cited as the most culturally conservative and "Spanish" area of the Southwest, the Catholic monopoly on the souls of the "Spanish Americans" of New Mexico, as they are often called, was broken long ago. According to one authority, three-fourths of that population are Catholic. "Depending on one's point of view, this could be considered evidence of strong retention of the religion or a remarkable conversion rate considering that these people were close to being 100% Catholic in 1846."[6]

Like many other Americans, many Hispanics, including members of the middle class, are only nominally religious or occasionally religious, i.e. "religious" only on special occasions. But there still does not seem to be much provision in the general American view for the Hispanic who does not receive any religious up-bringing, particularly, who chooses to end any association with the Catholic Church, who converts to another religion, or who rejects religion altogether. The analogy here with the secular Jew or one who converts to Christianity is apt. Whatever beliefs he holds, or whatever his actions, or whatever he does not practice, for many Americans he is forever a Jew, forever Jewish, **no matter what.**

"Cultural pluralism" and its concomitant, "multicultural education" may well be in the process of rapid reduction in some quarters to slogans only to join the long list of educational slogans that appear unfailingly and relentlessly. As Israel Sheffler pointed out, educational slogans "make no claim to facilitating communication or to reflecting meaning." Slogans are to be "repeated warmly and reassuringly, rather than pondered gravely. . . . They provide rallying symbols of the key ideas and attitudes of an educational movement. They both express and foster community of spirit, attracting new adherents and providing reassurance and strength to veterans."[7] And slogans are fine if they aren't taken too seriously and if a measure of amelioration is a consequence. Reducing the predictive power of race, ethnicity, sex, and socio-economic status for success in school is perhaps the primary educational problem of this country. There could scarcely be a more noble professional goal to undertake, and the effort alone would contribute toward the attainment of elusive professional status of school people. But there will hardly be educational achievement if standards are met by lowering standards, or goals attained by lower expectations. One need not go very far to find "special" programs presumably designed to address the special needs of one group or another to find an abundance of behavioral objectives and a plethora of

terminology borrowed from particular schools of business management or the Pentagon. But all too frequently, one also finds a poverty of expectations, vision, and commitment to education in any serious sense of that term.

An immediate problem in almost any discussion of "cultural pluralism" and "multicultural education" seems to center on the terms "acculturation" and "assimilation," or "unacculturated" and "unassimilated." The referents are almost always nebulous or presumed. That language may be used, of course, because of mere convenience or because it may be symbolically useful in terms of ordinary language. But it is not infrequently used **empirically**, contributing not to greater understanding, but distortion of reality and confusion—and sometimes to dangerous stereotypes. In the first place, the language is oppositional, and contraries, however logical, are almost always spurious in the social world. In the second place, the dichotomies suggested by the language fly in the face of everyday life in this country. What does it mean to be categorically "acculturated" or "unacculturated?" And to what? Is the social problem, and the issue, with regard to American minority groups one of assimilation **versus** non-assimilation, or it it one of intelligently choosing and controlling, to the extent possible, the nature and quality of that assimilation process? Pluralism itself may be a form of assimilation, and assimilation need not be based on suppression.

People who take the trouble to study people of another group carefully and honestly are often struck by how "human" they are and how similar they are, as well as appreciating the differences they encounter. Yet, some program developers continue to treat individuals as if they were statistics, and dynamic cultures as if they were **static** and monolithic. Who would have thought only thirty or forty years ago that the strange food of the Mexican Americans (which by the way includes hamburgers, Cokes, french fries and apple pie) would be so thoroughly appropriated by mass American Culture? Tortillas and chili have become as much an American food as Big Macs, pizza, or meat loaf. And it would be interesting to know how many Chicanos buy food at Zantigos.

Perhaps the greatest potential of multicultural education is the opportunity to improve the intellectual quality of American education, especially in colleges and departments of education. Education is and always has been "multicultural" in ends and means; and the ability to read and write more than one language has long been the hallmark of an educated person. Multicultural studies can contribute to more intel-

lectual honesty (or at least less intellectual dishonesty) in the treatment of certain subject matter and reduce our vulnerability to propaganda, myths, prejudices, and other crippling forms of cultural and intellectual isolation. In that sense, multicultural education is anything but "compensatory," or a sop to the restless minorities, but a liberal study for all Americans for the common benefit. While multicultural education may yield positive contributions in terms of working with so-called disadvantaged Americans, it may contribute in no small measure toward making the professional "schooling" of educators more "educational" from the standpoint of **their** own intellectual growth and development. That could be the most promising possibility of multicultural education. Interestingly, the marginal place of "professional" track programs in colleges of education in virtually any university and that of minority groups in American society invite immediate comparisons. Cultural pluralism (and multicultural education), finally, may serve as a viable alternative to racial and socioeconomic segregation in this country, an instrument of conjoinment in the spirit of the national motto and a means of creating a more humane, **democratically,** pluralistic American society.

But some possible consequences — very real possibilities — of multicultural education, including bilingual education, need to be recognized as well:

1. Multicultural education programs will be regarded or in fact be "compensatory" and "remedial" with conspicuous class and race correlatives, exacerbating the problems they presumably are designed to address and, from the standpoint of the middle class, encouraging the more ambitious and talented of the minority groups to affirmatively disassociate themselves from anything having to do with the label.

2. Special programs in colleges and universities will be another variation of providing second class credentials, albeit with a special seal or Latin motto, to programs whose legitimacy is questioned within the profession and which are regarded, correctly or not, as less demanding than other fields of study. The effect of that will be to exacerbate the problems associated with "selection factors" that perennially plague teacher education programs and the professions in the schools.

3. Bilingual programs under the aegis of multicultural education and cultural pluralism will contribute to further segregation of minorities in a manner that is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States or contribute to the social and intellectual isolation, not only of

ethnic groups, but of socio-economic groups — **including the middle class.**

4. Multicultural education is not what it might seem to be at first blush, but represents renewed efforts and a new set of coalitions to stoke the fires of the Melting Pot to stir and perhaps to enrich the ingredients.

5. Programs in multicultural education are opportune ways for school districts and universities, in the face of declining enrollments to tread water, and their interest can be expected to be only as deep as the availability of external funding.

6. Programs in colleges and universities in multicultural educations are new political attempts to bureaucratically define "competence" and equate qualifications with credentials controlled and granted by the institutions, thereby establishing another radical monopoly in the field of education.

Whatever the prospects and whatever else that can be said about the process — and the problems — developments will be interesting to follow. And there do not seem to be any sure bets.

FOOTNOTES

1. A very interesting study which suggests that middle class or upwardly mobile Mexican Americans do not shed their ethnic identification significantly is: Fernando Penalosa and Edward C. McDonagh, "Social Mobility in a Mexican-American Community," *Social Forces* 44, June, 1966, pp. 498-505. Also see Joseph Spielberg Benitez, "Dimensions for the Study of Work-Related Values in Mexican-American Culture: An Exploratory Essay," H. R. Kaplan (ed.), *American Minorities and Economic Opportunities* (Itasca: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1977), pp. 109-147.

2. See Alwar W. Carlson, "The Settling Process of Mexican Americans in Northwestern Ohio," *Journal of Mexican American History*, V, 1975, pp. 24-42.

3. Or anywhere else, for that matter.

4. See Noel Epstein, *Language Ethnicity and the Schools: Policy Alternatives for Bilingual-Bicultural Education* (Washington: The George Washington University Institute for Educational Leadership, 1977).

5. "Recruitment" of students in bilingual elementary school projects is a continuing problem in the Toledo school district in terms of stimulating interest or finding enough Mexican Americans who are bilingual.

6. Nancie L. Gonzalez, *The Spanish-Americans of New Mexico: A Heritage of Pride* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1967), pp. 173-74.

7. Israel Sheffler, *The Language of Education* (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1960), p. 36.

TOWARD A NEW UNITY

by John T. Zepper

Planets in our solar system are held in their orbits by a delicate balance of centrifugal (motion of the planets around the sun) and centripetal (gravitational pull between the planets and the sun) forces. An increase in the centripetal force would bring the life forces on earth into a burning inferno. On the other hand, an increase in the centrifugal force would fling the planets into a frigid eternity. The state of the union in the United States of America also exists through a delicate balance of divisive and unifying forces. This state of affairs has lasted over two hundred and three years with only one critical test — the Civil War. It is amazing that for well over one hundred years the "melting pot" myth was the motivating ideal behind the state of equilibrium existing between centralized (unifying) and localized (divisive) powers.

The form of each cultural system is directly related to its fundamental beliefs about reality and mankind. As a foundation for the new union of the thirteen United States, the founding fathers utilized the Enlightenment concept of society as a contractual inorganic machine to serve man's individual needs for "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The loose governmental organization under the Articles of Confederation soon gave way to the compromise between states rights and the central powers of the federal government under the U.S. Constitution; hence, the strong centralized government advocated by Alexander Hamilton, which would have resulted in greater uniformity within the union, never became our model for the American society. In this earlier agrarian society with its compromise governmental structure, the people lived in relative isolation from one another allowing the diversity pattern which predominated in the Middle Atlantic colonies to flourish in the early Republic. Nevertheless, the frontier conditions brought diverse cultural groups together in small communities under similar geographical conditions while allowing any group to move on to establish its own communities if it did not desire to adjust to the existing social communities. These sectional differences became stronger throughout the early years of the Republic contributing to the first great test of the union — the Civil War. After this critical test of the fledgling union, the road toward a huge industrialized, technological, bureaucratic society expanded from a cow path to a super highway. Accompanying this industrial/business complex was

the need for a vast quantity of manpower which opened the gates to heavy southern and eastern European immigration. Attending this influx of diverse peoples was the clash of cultural values with the preconceived need to preserve the union through the Americanization of this new element. So successful was the industrialization of the United States that a mass culture arose with the promise of making the post-World War II society a homogeneous one through the assimilation of different ethnic groups into the dominant mainstream. Suddenly this trend was reversed through the rise of the Black civil rights movement which spread rapidly to all other non-white minorities and also stimulated the search for ethnic roots among the white ethnic minorities. Now, no longer can an inorganic machine-like model of society hold the union together. We must begin to search for an organic multicultural model for unity.

Death of the "Melting Pot" Myth?

In 1963 historian Warren Wagar observed,

> "Even the great American 'melting pot' might have cracked and shattered generations ago, if there had not been a hardy core of Protestant North European settlers in possession of a distinctive American way of life and willing and able to initiate immigrants into its mysteries. The immigrants have made their contribution, but within the framework of traditional American culture."[1]

From St. John de Crevecoeur's observation in 1782 that the colonists were being melted into a new race of men through Israel Zangwill's play "The Melting Pot" to recent times, the symbolism, ideals, and myth of the "melting pot" have energized the amalgamation of immigrants and "native American" stock. Despite this long historical process, the death knell of the "melting pot" myth was sounded in 1973 during the testimony and debate leading to the Ethnic Heritage Studies Bill in Congress. As a result the nation and its schools are now faced with the challenge of the "new ethnicity."

Before closing the tomb on the lively corpse of the "melting pot" concept, one must try to understand its ideal and role in the past. Once the thirteen American colonies had achieved their independence from England (politically but certainly not culturally) and established a compromise form of constitutional government, they embarked upon the task of creating Americans. It was Crevecoeur who early observed that individuals of all nationalities were being melted into a new type of person — the new American. This creation of Americans began

officially in 1776 and continues to the present day, because this process is a continuous development involving the **mutual** interaction of all the diverse individuals within the United States with the developing common culture. This initial melting, the blending of ethnics into new Americans by almost imperceptible degrees, laid the foundation for the later "melting pot" myth. In spite of this trend, there has also been a distrust of foreigners and foreign entanglements, bordering on xenophobia for some. As the immigration of non-Anglo-Saxons increased during the period from 1870 to 1920, many advocated the doctrine of Americanization or Anglo-conformity as the policy toward these ethnics. Simply stated, this policy was to convert the newly arrived foreigners and their progeny into loyal English-speaking Americans. In the opinion of the "native" stock, the loyal American fit the WASP image, a fictional stereotype of the average middle-class American. Such a policy could only result in uniformity, an impossibility within the organic whole, among all those allowed to assimilate — namely the white ethnics. The "melting pot" concept was opposed to uniformity while working toward unity among the elements composing the United States of America. This distinction between unity and uniformity is vital for the general health of the nation. Unity implies a state of general concord and **mutual** understanding or, in other words, the harmonious agreement of the elements into one united whole for the purpose of common action. On the other hand, uniformity is the state of always being the same, alike, or identical which was and is, of course, a biological and cultural impossibility. The state of uniformity breeds conformity, monotony, sameness, and ultimately an existing death. Unity remains much more rich in variety than uniformity and is more able to grow, to change, and to develop as the elements composing the whole develop their uniqueness. Unfortunately, many of the current revisionists in educational history, radical critics, conservatives, and liberals use Americanization (Anglo-uniformity) and the "melting pot" myth synonymously.

Briefly, the "melting pot" deal describes the situation where a variety of elements are fused, through a heating process in the melting pot, into a new amalgamation, a combination of two or more elements. Another statement of this process more directly related to the problem confronting the developing United States is the assimilation of immigrants of various racial and cultural backgrounds into the mainstream of the nation. Advocates of the "melting pot" ideal never really carefully delineated what happened to the native first culture of the immigrants and what the "new American" was to be like because the new American, the amalgam, was continually emerging. Respect for

the various cultures was inherent because each was to be part of a better and better America, a liberal idea of progress with no set goal. Israel Zangwill in his play **The Melting Pot** rhapsodized the emerging American as "the fusion of all the races, the coming superman." Anglo-Saxon superiority was not assumed by "melting pot" theorists. American culture was to included the best from the Germans, Swedes, French, Italians, Greeks, Russians, Hungarians, as well as the Anglo-Saxons. Who could fault such a theory as long as each ethnic group could preserve their cherished values in their private lives? Unhappily, the myth and the practice of the "melting pot" ideal did not measure up to the high standards envisioned. Further, prior to 1954 the Blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, and to a lesser degree other dark-skinned ethnics were not considered by many as a legitimate part of the amalgamation.

Ambiguities in the "melting pot" ideal made possible several differing interpretations. Some stressed intermarriage as the means to fuse the races into a Heinz 57 variety so that none of us would have a pure ethnic background. This writer remembers telling his grandmother at the age of about four or five that I did not want to learn German because I was an American, even though this American was a mixture of German, English, Welsh, Irish, and French backgrounds. Other "melting pot" advocates stressed the sharing of common traditions, attitudes, and behavior described as typically American. In practice these views were translated into a forced or converted acceptance of the "WASP" culture with a total, or as near total as possible, rejection of the native ethnic culture. In practice, there was little or no difference between Americanization and the "melting pot" concept. Many immigrants freely, some even fanatically, chose to become Americanized completely or to the degree that they would not be recognized as "just coming off the boat." Others found it desirable to learn the "American way of life," especially among the second and third generations. Still others construe Americanization/"melting pot" strategies as a forced assimilation into an alien culture and a total rejection of their youthful values from the old country.

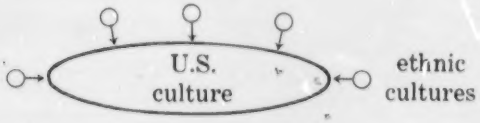
Charismatic leaders and forceful rhetoric with tantalizing stories of wealthy immigrants were so successful that the ideal became a myth to live by. It was assumed that the Land of Opportunity had lived up to its promise and that those who came accepted this new life in toto.

When one evaluates the ideal and myth of the melting pot in terms of reality, one can conclude that the ideal has not been achieved and that the myth is just that — a myth, an imaginary situation, a false opinion in terms of actuality. One must hasten to add that this

does not verify the conclusions of the revisionists and radicals that the myth is dead and served no useful purpose. The melting pot ideal was partially successful and partially a failure. Many ethnics consider themselves Americans and indicate this when they fill out the census information. Since all groups have immigrated to North America including the American Indians, all of us should categorize ourselves as ethnics if the melting pot concept had not worked to a significant degree. There is an American culture which has incorporated many aspects of the various ethnic cultures even though the stew in the pot is still predominantly Anglo-Saxon in flavor just as heavy salting of a stew dominates its flavor. However, the American culture is not British culture. During 1975-76 this writer and his family spent eleven months in a village of about 5,000 seven miles outside Nottingham. We learned that there were great differences between Americans and Englishmen as we experienced cultural shock. In comparing the behavior of Soviet citizens during forty-five days in the USSR with British and American ways, I came to the conclusion that the Soviets were more similar to Americans than the English. No doubt, there exists a distinctive American culture, customs, and attitudes.

Americanization and the "melting pot" concept can be illustrated through the following diagrams:

Figure 1



Americanization

Figure 2

Melting Pot

In the Americanization model, the ethnic groups are outside the mainstream of the American culture and must be brought into the dominant society by being made a WASP. On the contrary, the "melting pot" model has the ethnic groups within the American culture and interacting with it while maintaining their own cherished values.

An additional model has been proposed for the role of immigrants and culturally different groups within the United States — cultural pluralism. Horace Kallen seems to have first used this concept in 1915. Isaac Berkson developed a model of cultural pluralism which was somewhat different from Kallen's, but both of these men used the philosophy and democratic views of John Dewey in their proposals.

Both were against the coercion of Americanization and the coercion which crept into the practice of the "melting pot" myth. Kallen proposed a Federation of Nationalities model which push pluralism through a series of semi-independent groups or autonomous publics which came together to form a federal union similar to the Swiss state. How this would happen was not detailed, but one recalls the failures of the Articles of Confederation and the Confederated States. The closest existing model is probably the Soviet Union with its autonomous and semi-autonomous nationalities (ethnic groups) which has been held together by the slogan (myth), "Nationalist in form, socialist in content" and the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Berkson did not stress the fostering of diversity and pluralism in his Community model. His plan centered around permissive diversity through self-determination by natural communities, that is, those communities which had a common purpose for existing. However, it was to be possible for individuals and even the entire group to leave the enclave and to assimilate into the dominant community.[2] Although these views of cultural pluralism have been with us since the 1920's, they have not gained widespread acceptance as models for the American society.

Rise of the New Ethnicity

It seemed to many that by the early 1950's the United States was rapidly becoming a homogeneous society. As Lawrence Cremin[3] has argued, the genius of American education was its commitment to popularization of culture. He maintains that "it is certainly not foreordained that popular culture must be sensational and sordid."[4] Add the success of mass production in the industrial culture to mass culture, and we emerge with strong forces toward uniformity in terms of material possessions and ways of behaving and believing. Nevertheless, there has always been an ethnic consciousness striving to maintain uniqueness and to gain acceptance. Blacks had been using the courts prior to World War II to gain their Constitutional rights; however, this movement was given a "shot in the arm" by the criminal actions of the Nazi genocide of Jews and other non-Aryan peoples coupled with the valuable service of Blacks in the armed forces and the war industries. In their struggle to gain their rightful status within the United States, the Blacks suffered ridicule, humiliation, torture, psychological agony, unlawful imprisonment, and even violent death; however, they have legitimized the Constitutional rights of all minorities in the United States. Quickly the Chicanos, American Indians, other non-white minorities, white ethnic minorities, and women laid claim to their rightful position within American society.

All around us the positive effects of the "new" ethnicity are apparent as stated in the essays earlier in **Educational Comment.** No longer must these people bear the brunt of ridicule for their ethnic heritage from official sources and through the media. Pride has replaced the feelings of inferiority since "Black is Beautiful" has permeated each group's ethnic consciousness. The search for roots in ethnic heritages has revived old customs and stories which have added security to the lives of these groups. Talented people of all ethnic backgrounds are making valuable creative contributions to the American mainstream and to their own ethnic cultures. New fierce ethnic loyalties and pride have fostered ethnic assertiveness and self-acceptance which can result in more and greater contributions to the U.S. As with all movements, there are both good and bad results. All diversity may be enriching to the nation, but diversity can potentially lead to divisiveness. Enrichment of the whole by each part requires contact among the cultures on a reciprocal basis. Extreme ethnic militancy has already reared the ugly head of separatism. Some Chicanos have utilized the Nahuatl term Aztlan, the mythological ancestral homeland of the Aztecs, to advocate an independent nation in the Southwest United States. Black extremists have proposed independent Black-American nations in Africa or the U.S. Puerto Rican **independistas** desire a homeland of their own. Others call for self-segregation with the benefits of the dominant culture and financial support for their semi-autonomous state. On the other hand, the self-segregated Amish, Dunkers, Pennsylvania Dutch, etc. have requested little from the mainstream and have disrupted society very little because of their lack of numbers and their long historic separation from modern technology; nevertheless, their potential contributions to the entire nation have been lost. Ethnic pressure groups can stimulate "pork barrel" legislation just as other pressure groups do to benefit small groups at the expense of the majority. Even more is lost when ethnic pride forces uniformity upon individuals who are submersed in extreme groupism. For example, some Spanish-speaking individuals did not agree with the correct Chicano point of view and were then classified as turncoats or Anglos. Ethnic groupism can be ugly and repressive as well as beautiful and creative.

Localism, divorced from the larger whole, results in slow or nonexistent progress. If our country lacks the necessary unity, we run the risk of crumbling into a bureaucratic mess or warring factions. Our task is the same as that which confronted the founding fathers — to build unity with pluralism. We must seek mutual respect for and acceptance of diversity, cooperation and interaction among the

mainstream and all its parts, and a new symbol (myth) for our common ideal. It is impossible to return to the atavism of the "melting pot." We must embark on the journey to a "new unity" of cultural pluralism.

Interdependency

Cultural pluralism has been an ideal for American society since the term was used by Horace Kallen in the 1920's. It has recently been reemphasized as a goal for our society and public education. At the end of their chapter analyzing cultural pluralism, Morris and Pai concluded ". . . that no single school of philosophy necessarily leads to the basic tenets of cultural pluralism . . . the philosophical view most consonant with the ideals of cultural pluralism is Experimentalism."[5] There is no doubt that Pragmatism (Experimentalism) was in the forefront of advocates of cultural pluralism in the writings of Kallen, Berkson, and Dewey. Even though Dewey saw the dangers to individualism in a homogeneous mass society, Tesconi and Morris observed that ". . . whereas Dewey talked and wrote about the need for individualism in school and elsewhere, his emphasis on scientific method logically and factually led him to a greater concern with the group."[6] In his study of Dewey and cultural pluralism, Itzkoff demonstrates that the philosophy and followers of Dewey and his concept of democracy as conjoint shared experience were closely related to cultural pluralism; but he also argued that Dewey's philosophy led to the debilitation of cultural pluralism, because Dewey had no plan, was ambivalent toward unification and pluralism, gave no real consideration to cultural differences due to his lack of anthropological background, and his philosophy had an incomplete metaphysical base.[7]

Although V. T. Thayer and John Dewey use the term "interdependency" frequently in their writings,[8] neither developed a philosophy of interdependence. Dr. Archie J. Bahm, emeritus professor of philosophy at the University of New Mexico, has been developing Organicism: The Philosophy of Interdependence[9] for over three decades. He has identified American Pragmatism as a fundamental source of Organicism as well as Whitehead, Emergentism, and comparative philosophy including oriental views. Only a brief account of this incomplete, emerging philosophy can be given here. This philosophy has arisen from interdependent metropolitan America and worldwide interdependence. Its key concept is interdependence which involves partial independence and partial dependence of all existents. Each thing is a whole on its own and simultaneously part of a greater whole. This whole is also composed of its own parts which inter-

depend. Applying this concept to cultural diversity within the union, each ethnic group is partially independent of the mainstream while at the same time it is partially dependent upon the mainstream. Within each ethnic group are individuals who are both partially independent of the group and partially dependent upon the group for the nature of the individual. None of us can exist completely independent of our ethnic group and the larger society, but the society is also partially dependent upon the unique contribution that each individual and each ethnic group can make to society. Mutual interaction among groups and individuals, acceptance of partial independence, and mutual respect and contributions are necessary in a theory of interdependence. Since existence involves unity and plurality, both of these interdepend. One cannot continue to exist without the other because of their mutual dependence and mutual independence. This philosophy also involves polarity, dialectic, and organicity which cannot be developed in this short space, but the concept of interdependency illustrates how this philosophy can be a basis for a multicultural society within American conditions. Many of the implications for a pluralistic society and education are as yet not clearly understood nor completely worked out, but interdependency is the key for a workable multicultural education.

This writer used the need to orchestrate a new society with one conductor (unity) and the pieces of a mosaic as illustrations of interdependency of diversity within unity[10] before discovering that many believers in cultural pluralism had used the same examples. Recently, Harold Isaacs has disputed the mosaic example. ". . . the American reality does **not** resemble a mosaic. It looks more like a Jackson Pollock painting, its great swirls and blurs of lines and colors totally entwined, mixed, and mutually-absorbed, each bit in its own way distinct but inseparable from the whole."[11] He also cites Andrew Greely, an ethnic spokesman, for his description of the American mosaic as ". . . a mosaic 'with permeable borders.' It is only at the darkest end of the color spectrum where despite all the mixing, sizeable pieces of the design still stand more apart than folded into it."[12] I agree that the Blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, and Orientals are not a conspicuous part of the American mosaic. To a large degree their gorgeous hues and melodious sounds have been relegated to the scrap pile, unused in making the American mosaic more beautiful, or placed in the darkest, dingiest corner of the mosaic to hide their beauty. Regardless of this past foolishness, I must continue to argue that each part (ethnic group) of the mosaic (the unity) must maintain its own uniqueness to be colored by the surrounding unique tiles

within the mosaic. Walt Whitman, the poet of democracy, captured this view in his "I Hear America Singing:"

> I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear,
> Those of mechanics, each one singing his as it should
> be blithe and strong
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Each singing what belongs to him or her and to none else.

Toward a New Unity within a Multicultural Society

Entropy in the universe will result in heat death. Chaos is most probable in the universe as a whole, but enclaves which have broken down isolation through mutual communication and unity can fend off the lifeless equilibrium of uniformity.[13] We must preserve the unity of diversity within the United States if we are all to survive and to progress.

Even though Interdependency has not answered all of the problems related to cultural pluralism, it is a starting point for all of us to apply our creative intelligence to work out our problems. When we have an intellectual base for cultural pluralism and multicultural education, our task is not yet finished. There must be a means to move from ideal to practice so that the New Unity will not remain on the drawing board as the Republic of Plato did. To do this we must use the mind of man to create a symbol (myth) to weld the multitude of interdependencies within the United States and the world into a unified whole. Whether the "melting pot" myth is dead or not, we must move forward to a new symbol, mythical image,[14] which can unite young and old, ethnics and mainstreamers, Americans and other nationalities. This new myth must emerge from the mutual interaction of all parties toward a common goal to avoid the dangers of unconscious myth. We must not allow the mass media controlled by any special interest to manufacture a myth of self-interest rather than the interdependency which is so vitally needed in our world of tomorrow. Let's get on with the task.

FOOTNOTES

1. W. Warren Wagar, *The City of Man* (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 136.

2. Seymour W. Itzkoff, *Cultural Pluralism and American Education* (Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1969), pp. 54-58 and Van Cleve Morris and Young Pai, *Philosophy and the American School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), pp. 435-438.

3. Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Genius of American Education* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966).

4. Ibid., p. 79.

5. Morris and Pai, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

6. Charles A. Tesconi, Jr. and Van Cleve Morris, *The Anti-Man Culture* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972), p. 152.

7. Itzkoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

8. John T. Zepper, "V. T. Thayer: Progressive Educator," *Educational Forum*, XXXIV (May, 1970), 496, 501-502.

9. Archie J. Bahm, "Existence and Its Polarities," *Journal of Philosophy*, XLVI (September, 1949), 629-636; Archie J. Bahm (ed.), *Interdependence: An Interdisciplinary Study* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: World Books, 1977), 1-132; Archie J. Bahm, "Organicism — A New World Hypothesis," *Memorias* del XIII Congresco Internacional de Filosoia, IX (September, 1963), 21-43; Archie J. Bahm, "Organicism: The Philosophy of Interdependence," *International Philosophical Quarterly*, VII (June, 1967), 251-284; and Archie J. Bahm, "Organitic Dialectic," *Philosophy & Phenomenological Research*, XVIII (June, 1958), 541-543 are some sources for a more detailed description of interdependency.

10. Zepper, *op. cit.*, pp. 501-502.

11. Harold R. Isaacs, "The One and the Many," *American Educator*, II (Spring, 1978), p. 11.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954), pp. 12, 28-41.

14. Theodore Brameld, "Philosophical Anthropology: The Educational Significance of Ernst Cassirer," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXVI (Summer, 1956), 207, 210-213, 218.

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ACCREDITATION AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: THE STANDARDS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

by Robert T. Ulitz

The clearly discernible "trend" towards multicultural education in teacher education programs can be seen as both a stimulus and a symptom with respect to standards for teacher accreditation. Over the span of the last decade, a great variety of national, state, and professional organizations have instituted a number of changes in their accreditation standards relating to multicultural education. This development can be seen as a natural consequence of the "minority awareness" revolutions which characterize the 1960's. These "revolutions" already have had a certain impact in many teacher education programs; the degree of this impact, however, can be seen as having been more related to the degree of a minority presence in the community than it has to the pressures of accreditation. The changing accreditation standards of the 1970's can also be linked to an awareness of these "revolutions" and the pressures they represent. As the observer of teacher education programs examines changes in multicultural education components from 1979 on, however, he will most likely note that these changes represent attempts to comply with national, state, and professional standards more than they will represent attempts to comply with minority group pressures.

The increasing emphasis in multicultural components of teacher education is largely attributable to three "official" sources: national and regional program accreditation agencies; professional academic associations; and state departments of education. This article will take an example in each of these three categories and examine the content and implications of its program and/or academic standards. The National Council For Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) **Standards**[1] must be examined because of the preeminent importance of that agency in the development and evaluation of teacher education programs in the United States. In the category of professional academic associations, the American Educational Studies Association's **Standards for Academic and Professional Instruction**[2] will be looked at, largely because this organization has addressed itself to staffing and program criteria which bear important implications for multicultural education programs. As a case example of state standards, Ohio's **Standards for Colleges or Universities Preparing**

Teachers[3] will be examined as to their implications for multicultural teacher education and other related areas.

The NCATE Standards

Program Accreditation by NCATE probably has had and will continue to have the greatest impact on teacher preparatory institutions in the United States. The most recent **Standards** were adopted by the NCATE Committee on Standards May 16, 1977, and became effective on January 1, 1979.[4] The **Standards** pertain to both undergraduate and graduate teacher education. Worth noting are the prerequisites for an accreditation evaluation of an institution's program(s) by NCATE: (1) approval by the appropriate state department of education; (2) prior full accreditation by the appropriate regional accrediting association; (3) compliance with the affirmative action guidelines of the U.S. Office of Education; and (4) student graduates of the program who can be assessed to determine the quality of their preparation.[5]

The NCATE **Standards** are broken into six categories for both the basic and advanced programs. These categories deal with governance, curricula, faculty, students, resources, and evaluation. In all of these six categories, the theme of multicultural education has a heavy emphasis. The **Standard** under governance introduces the multicultural factor. Noting that the individual institution is responsible for the design, approval, and continuous evaluation and development of its program, the **Standard** states that "the membership of this unit [institution] is composed of faculty . . . [who] have experience in, and commitment to, the task of educating teachers who will provide instruction in a multicultural society."[6]

Of the six categories in the NCATE **Standards**, the category of curricula most directly addresses the issue of multicultural teacher education. The **Standard** specifically addressing multicultural education (in this case in undergraduate education) and its accompanying preamble provide definition of and the purposes for multicultural education in teacher preparation programs.

> Multicultural education is preparation for the social, political, and economic realities that individuals experience in culturally diverse and complex human encounters. These realities have both national and international dimensions. This preparation provides a process by which an individual develops competencies for per-

ceiving, believing, evaluating, and behaving in differential cultural settings. Thus, multicultural education is viewed as an intervention and an on-going assessment process to help institutions and individuals become more responsive to the human condition, individual cultural integrity, and cultural pluralism in society.

Provision should be made for instruction in multicultural education in teacher education programs. Multicultural education should receive attention in courses, seminars, directed readings, laboratory and clinical experiences, practicum, and other types of field experiences.

Multicultural education could include but not be limited to experiences which: (1) Promote analytical and evaluative abilities to confront issues such as participatory democracy, racism and sexism, and the parity of power; (2) Develop skills for values clarification including the study of the manifest and latent transmission of values; (3) Examine the dynamics of diverse cultures and the implications for developing teaching strategies; and (4) Examine linguistic variations and diverse learning styles as a basis for the development of appropriate teaching strategies.

Standard: The institution gives evidence of planning for multicultural education in its teacher education curricula including both the general and professional studies components.[7]

This **Standard** and its accompanying preamble clearly suggest that multicultural education must be emphasized in both the teacher education program and in the general education components; that it must involve a variety of cognitive and affective learning experiences; and that it must receive forefront attention in all elements of the total program, from the conventional classroom course to the clinical and school experiences.

In the component relating to faculty, the NCATE **Standards** make continuing references to the importance of promoting multicultural teacher education. Teachers, NCATE emphasizes, must be prepared to work in a multicultural society, and faculty training, expertise and experiences should reflect relevance to multicultural factors. In this context, NCATE points out, "The institution's commitment to multicultural education is reflected in its policies for recruiting teacher education faculty."[8] This criterion is to be applied to both full-time and part-time faculty. Additionally, the institution should have a plan for faculty development which "includes appropriate opportunities for

developing and implementing innovations in multicultural education . . . "[9]

This need for diversity is also emphasized in the section pertaining to students in the undergraduate program. NCATE strongly suggests that policies relating to students should be "designed to encourage the development of a culturally diverse student body."[10] This need is reemphasized in reference to the counseling and advising process. "Qualified counselors and advisors, sensitive to the multicultural character of society, assist students in assessing their strengths and weaknesses and in planning their programs of study."[11]

In the category pertaining to resources, the Standards again make several references to the need for multicultural considerations. They stress that library "acquisition policies should reflect a commitment to multicultural education" and that materials and instructional media centers should make materials available to students and faculty "that reflect cultural diversity in American society."[12]

In its section on advanced or graduate programs, the NCATE **Standards** and preambles are closely parallel to those pertaining to undergraduate programs. This statement applies to all of the components of the **Standards:** governance, curricula, faculty, students, resources, and evaluation. Those slight differences that can be found are more emphasis than substance and pertain to the obvious differences of circumstances which relate to the undergraduate versus the experienced teacher.

In the third section of its **standards,** NCATE supplies some questions to aid institutions in a self-examination of their programs. The questions pertaining to multicultural education largely reflect a summary of the **standards** previously described.

In what ways is multicultural education reflected in the plan of study for all programs in regard to:

a. General Studies
b. Professional Education
c. Preparation in Clinical/Laboratory Experiences
d. Practicum and Field Experiences

What resources have been added to support multicultural education over the past five years?

> What efforts have been made to recruit new faculty in view of the multicultural concepts? What success has been attained?
>
> What efforts have been made to recruit students in view of multicultural concepts? What success?[13]

In examining the questions stated above and the **Standards** themselves, any observer cannot fail to note that the recurring reference to multicultural education represents a major theme in the document. To comply with the spirit and letter of the document, teacher education institutions must do more than make cosmetic changes such as retitling programs, courses, and services. The promotion of relevant knowledge, skills, awareness, and experiences must be apparent in all aspects of teacher education programs, both undergraduate and graduate. Concerns for multicultural education must be observable in the planning of the institution, from the initiation of programs to the use of evaluation data for subsequent revision of the program. Multicultural education emphasis must be observable in the operation of the program, in the traditional classroom experience, in the field school experience, and in the teaching centers. Finally, institutions must follow up their training programs to assess the effectiveness of their methods in developing competent teachers for a multicultural society.

THE AESA STANDARDS

A second major source of influence in determining the nature of teacher education programs is professional academic associations. The NCATE **Standards** themselves recognize that such learned societies can be a source of valuable input in the formulation of teacher education programs.

> National learned societies and professional associations with special interest in curricula, including those related to multicultural education for the preparation of teachers, have significant contributions for improvement of teacher education programs. On the basis of extensive study and research, some of these organizations have developed guidelines for the preparation of teachers.[14]

The applicable NCATE **Standard** requires the consideration of such recommendations by the institution.

> Standard: In planning and developing curricula for teacher education, the institution studies the recommendation of national professional associations and learned societies and adopts a ra-

> tionale for the selection and implementation of pertinent sets of recommendation for each teacher education program.[15]

The American Educational Studies Association (AESA) is a prominent academic association which has expressed a strong interest in standards and programs in teacher education. This is clearly evident in its publication **Standards for Academic and Professional Instruction**, which was approved by its Executive Council in 1977.[16] The AESA identifies itself as "an international learned society for scholars and educational practitioners who share interests in the field of study generally identified as the Foundations of Education."[17] Its members represent a broad variety of primary interests: Educational anthropology, history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and economics; curriculum, comparative education, educational studies, and educational policy studies. The AESA provides an explanation of the construction and nature of its **Standards** in the Preamble.

> The **Standards** for Academic and Professional Instruction were constructed by the AESA Task Force on Academic Standards on the basis of wide and systematic consultation with Association members and other educational scholars and practitioners. They provide rationales and evaluation criteria for Foundations of Education study in graduate and undergraduate programs, in-service training for educational practitioners, and professional development of faculty.[18]

As an association identified with the Foundation of Education, the AESA has taken a strong interest in the growth and evolution of multicultural education over the last decade. Although the pattern of its members' primary interests can be said to be widely varied, an examination of those primary interests reveals a distinct pattern that can be clearly associated with the knowledge and skills related to the ability to understand and teach multicultural education. This linkage is particularly notable in terms of the disciplinary perspectives of the various foundational areas. Moreover, the Foundation of Education shares a deep interest and concern for present circumstances, events and conditions, particularly those relating to the social issues and crises of the times.[19] Multicultural education certainly relates to perhaps the greatest social issue of the last fifteen years: the social economic, political and educational integration of America's minorities into the "mainstream."

The AESA standards apply to foundational studies in seven program areas: initial teacher certification, in-service teacher de-

velopment, non-Foundations graduate programs, joint graduate programs, Foundations graduate programs, preparation of Foundations faculty, and professional development of Foundations faculty. The **Standards** specify the minimum amount of a program which should be devoted to foundational studies. In the case of initial teacher accreditation, in-service programs, and non-Foundations graduate programs, this minimum is one-sixth; in the case of joint graduate programs, the minimum is two-fifths; in the case of Foundations masters and educational specialists degrees, the minimum is three-fifths. With respect to Foundations Doctoral programs, the **Standards** require advanced preparation in at least three of the Foundations areas previously cited. The final **Standard** mandates a broadly based professional growth on the part of the Foundations faculty.[20] An underlying assumption related to the development of the **Standards** for these programs is that there is a definite relationship between professional and scholarly qualifications, and judgment and competencies. The primary intent of the **Standards** is made fully clear.

> Their ultimate purpose, however, is to promote quality instruction and learning in foundational studies, to guarantee to the extent possible that students have had opportunities to acquire interpretive, normative and critical perspectives in education through rigorous study and supervised field experiences. While a variety of approaches is possible, that objective provides the fundamental criterion for assessing foundational studies.[21]

Although Foundations faculty will likely be called upon to carry the bulk of the load with regard to implementing multicultural components of pre-service, in-service and graduate programs, it should be noted that such program development must become integrated throughout all aspects of these programs, both for the purpose of providing a liberal education, and for developing professional competence. This integration also requires that multicultural education be a prime focus, not only in basic foundations elements of programs, but also in instructional planning, instructional implementation, and assessment and evaluation. In the past the "segregation" of Foundations knowledge and skills (often to the first segments of teacher education programs) has done a disservice to the teachers being trained. An important implication of these **Standards** is that Foundations faculty in pre-service teacher education programs must take an assertive and follow-up role in assuring that Foundations knowledge and skills are implemented in the field components of teacher education programs, from the initial "observation" experiences through the student teaching experience. This is particularly impor-

tant with regard to the student teacher operating in the multicultural environment, because he must be aware of the many social class and ethnic factors which must be taken into account when selecting methodologies and materials, determining appropriate assessment techniques, and communicating with his students.

The State Standards: A Case In Point

A third institutional source of influence with respect to determining the nature of teacher education has been (and certainly will continue to be) state departments of education. Because interpretation of the tenth amendment has traditionally defined the legal responsibilities of education to fall largely within the scope of state authority, the state departments of education have generally been responsible for developing the most specific criteria for teacher accreditation. These state departments have undergone the same pressures from the larger changing society in the 1960's and 1970's, and thus have been forced to change in response to the minority rights revolutions.

The state of Ohio will be taken as a case in point. Although it is impossible to find a "typical" state with respect to demographic make-up, Ohio's black population of 10 per cent is close to the national average, and it has a significant Hispanic population along with other minority groups. Six metropolital areas of greater than 250,000 fall within the state, even though its urban-rural popluation ratio is close to the national average.[22] These demographic characteristics have caused Ohio to undergo the same pressures for multicultural education as most other states in the union.

Ohio's revised standards for teacher education (Chapter EDB303) shall become effective July 1, 1980. Their organization roughly parallels that of NCATE, incorporating sections on organization, curriculum, instruction, faculty, services, facilities, financial support and evaluation. The **Standards** revisions discussed here have been and will be used as criteria "to qualify colleges and universities for such state lnancial assistance as may be appropriated for such purpose."[23]

Two themes notably apparent in these revisions pertain to the areas of multicultural education and to clinical/field based experiences. References to multicultural education are mentioned at several points in the document. Under organization, the **Standards** point out that the institution should select and admit students who possess or can acquire values which reflect a "tolerance for, and understanding of,

human diversity."[24] Under the category of curriculum, the **Standards** state that the teacher education curriculum must reflect significant academic and social concerns to include:

> . . . human relations related to both teaching in a culturally pluralistic society and working effectively with students regardless of race, religion, age, sex, socioeconomic status, or exceptionality not requiring a full-time specialized educational environment.[25]

As previously noted, these **Standards** also reflect a major change towards greatly expanded clinical/field experiences, a pattern common in recent state standards. Ohio's **Standards** will require approximately 300 field/clinical hours (in **addition** to the field hours in student teaching). These field based experiences must take place in "a variety of urban or suburban or rural settings,"[26] thus fostering a multicultural educational experience. Another aspect of these changes is worth noting: the faculty student ratio in teacher education is reduced from seventeen to one to fourteen to one, thus significantly increasing the funding level. Such an increase will help to maximize the likelihood of more carefully monitored field experiences and multicultural programs which are followed through after implementation.

In summarizing the case of Ohio, the state **Standards** can be said to promote changes which should expand the dimensions of multiculturism in teacher education programs, and these changes should occur particularly within the dimensions of an expanded field experience. A greater number of field experience hours will take place at all phases of the program prior to student teaching. These experiences must take place in a variety of urban/suburban/rural environments, thereby maximizing the likelihood of interactions in diverse ethnic and social class settings.

The Standards: Summarizing Their Implications

Certainly the three kinds of standards examined — national accrediting agencies, professional academic associations, and state departments of education — will all have some effect in promoting changes in expanded multicultural dimensions in teacher education. The scope and general magnitude of these standards should suggest to institutions that mere cosmetic changes will potentially jeopardize their chances of program accreditation. The standards must be taken as "serious business." To take them as something else would involve significant risks. In this context, dimensions of multicultural teacher

education must appear in substance in all phases of the program — classroom, clinical, and in field experiences—from the freshmen to the senior year. Teachers in training must interact with people of diverse backgrounds, including university faculty, student peers, and teachers and students in the field. To comply with even "the letter of the law" will require changes of substance.

The scope, depth and long term effects of these changes, however, will vary greatly depending upon a number of critical contextual variables. To comply with the "spirit" and intent of these changes involves more complex issues, and this kind of compliance will not necessarily be ascertainable in accreditation procedures. The standards imply that teacher education institutions must take another step towards that real but ill-defined goal of "equal opportunity for all in a free and open society." Multiculturalism suggests that the society must strive for this goal while at the same time accepting the value and contributions of people from ethnic groups, classes, and cultures which are often different from the majority. Many contextual factors in the school and society can certainly impede the attainment of this long term goal. An examination of three dimensions of this problem will demonstrate how the "spirit" of multicultural education can be effected significantly.

A concept that must be considered concurrently with multiculturalism is that of social class. Often the problems and discrimination which minority cultures face are problems which are a function of social class as much or more as they are a function of race or ethnic group. The major cultural-ethnic minority groups in America — Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans and others — all are proportionately greatly overrepresented in the lower classes than is the population as a whole.[27] This issue could be relevant in the impediment of the standards in multicultural teacher education. A student participant, for example, should be placed in schools whose populations reflect a diversity, not only with respect to cultural and ethnic factors, but also with regard to social class factors. The student's field experiences, furthermore, should result in a better understanding of the interrelationship of social class and cultural-ethnic factors. Program developers and coordinators need be aware of such interrelationships and follow through to be sure that such diversity in field experiences occurs.

Another dimension of this problem can be seen when looking at the problem of change and innovation. Mandated or suggested

changes in school policies or curriculum have frequently run aground in an adverse school climate. With respect to multicultural teacher education, this problem could have two dimensions: in the university teacher training setting and in the school setting in which the student teacher will practice and/or take his first teaching job. Research on change strongly suggests that the contextual climate into which the change is introduced strongly influences the extent to which the change is likely to occur.[28] Teachers and student teachers coming out of programs which have emphasized multicultural education are less likely to incorporate that understanding and those skills in their teaching if their secondary or elementary building and district administrators are not supportive of such change. Peer teachers are another source of negative (or positive) influence. These same problems might prevail at the university level. Incorporation of changes relating to multicultural education must have the support of the college administration and faculty peers. These potential problems suggest the need for multicultural programs to orient administrators (at both the university and school levels), and in-service programs for practicing teachers. Ignoring the potential hazards of this problem could result in many multicultural programs stopping at the water's edge, i.e., sabotaged by the prevalent norms of the "teachers' lounge."

A final dimension of the problem of compliance in both letter and spirit concerns the traditional dilemma of determining the primary function of the school in the social realm — is it to inculcate values which reflect the current status of society, or is it to develop values which reflect the schools' (i.e., educators') perception of the needs of the future? Or asked in another way, to what extent will the schools merely reflect the most common values of the contemporary society as opposed to influencing the change of those values? An acceptance of multiculturalism can be described as a "need" for the future which requires a value change on the part of a large segment of American society. The majority of students in America attend schools in which the students are largely homogenious with respect to cultural-ethnic and social class characteristics. Because of this, the community and peer values which come to bear upon the changes accompanying multiculturalism may well be negative and/or impeding. The schools themselves, then, must serve as institutions which lead the way towards those changes if they are to help our society attain the goal of a truly open multicultural society.

FOOTNOTES

1. National Council For Accreditation of Teacher Education, (NCATE), *Standards for Accreditation of Teacher Education* (Washington D.C.: 1977.)

2. American Educational Studies Association (AESA), "Standards for Academic and Professional Instruction in Foundations of Education, Educational Studies and Educational Policy Studies," *Educational Studies*, VIII (Winter, 1977-78), pp. 329-42.

3. Ohio Department of Education, *Standards for Colleges or Universities Preparing Teachers* (Columbus, Ohio 1975).

4. NCATE, *loc. cit.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, 3.

7. *Ibid.*, 4.

8. *Ibid.*, 7.

9. *Ibid.*, 8.

10. *Ibid.*, 8.

11. *Ibid.*, 9.

12. *Ibid.*, 10.

13. *Ibid.*, 21.

14. *Ibid.*, 6.

15. *Ibid.*, 7.

16. AESA, *loc. cit.* p. 329.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, 331.

20. *Ibid.*, 342.

21. *Ibid.*, 335.

22. *Information Please Almanac* (New York: Dan Golanpaul Associates, 1977), pp. 692-705.

23 Ohio Department of Education, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

24. *Ibid.*, 3.

25. *Ibid.*, 4.

26. *Ibid.*, 5.

27. Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, *Society and Education*. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1975), pp. 310-362.

28. R. G. Havelock, *Innovations in Education: Strategies and Tactics* (Ann Arbor: CRUSK, The University of Michigan, 1971).